



# THE AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST

[formerly P.R.O.D.]

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**IN THE NEWS** PROGRAMS AND STUDIES • Harvard and MIT's *Joint Center for Urban Studies* will undertake a research and technical assistance program in Venezuela's Guayana region, by arrangement with the Venezuelan government. They will analyze its economic structure and growth potential, prepare a comprehensive development plan for a new city, to have a population of 200,000 or more. • Joint committees of the *SSRC* and *American Council of Learned Societies* recently gave 7 grants for sub-Saharan Africa research, 12 for research on contemporary China, 12 for Latin American studies, 8 for research on the Near and Middle East, 17 for Slavic and East European studies. • *SSRC* also announced 24 faculty research fellowships, 18 grants-in-aid of research, 8 grants for research on American governmental and legal processes, 3 grants for research on natl. security policy. • In March the *Soviet Academy of Sciences* and the *ACLS* signed an agreement for exchanges of lectures, seminars, research programs in the humanities and social sciences—specifically, literature, history, economics, law, dramatic criticism. • A new journal is *The Soviet Review* (156 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C. 10), carrying translations of Soviet articles dealing with sciences, social analysis, economics, literature, education, the arts, government. • Also new is the *Society for the History of (Geographical) Discoveries*, concerned not only with the age of discoveries but with "the whole range of activities leading up to the discoveries, as well as their consequences and more remote implications." First president is Thomas Goldstein of City College, N.Y.

**CONFERENCES** • The *Intl. Assoc. for Mass Communication Research* will meet in Evian, France, and Lausanne, Switzerland, June 22-26. • The *Intl. Congress of Applied Psychology* will meet in Copenhagen, Aug. 13-19. • The intl. meeting of the *Inst. of Management Science* will be in Brussels, Aug. 23-26. • The *Intl. Statistical Inst.* will meet in Paris, Aug. 28-Sept. 7. • There will be an *Intl. Conf. on Input-Output Techniques* in Geneva, Sept. 11-15. • The *World Congress of the Intl. Pol. Sci. Assoc.* will be held in Paris, Sept. 26-30. • The subject of the *U. of Mich. Conf. on Aging*, June 19-21, will be "Political Aspects of Aging," topics to include "The Culture of Age," "Determinants of Voting Behavior," "Social Needs and the Politics of Age," and others.

**FOUNDATIONS** • Recent Carnegie Corp. grants include \$475M to MIT for a 5-yr. research and training program in the political problems of newly developed nations; \$100M to the *Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* for 2 yrs. of conferences on the social implications of scientific discoveries; \$75M to the *Natl. Bureau of Economic Research* for research on the

*continued on p. 12*

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# The Annals of Research: A Case of Collaboration in Comparative Study of Legislative Behavior

by JOHN C. WAHLKE, HEINZ EULAU,  
WILLIAM BUCHANAN, and LEROY C. FERGUSON

*This recounting of the experience of the State Legislative Research Project demonstrates that it is possible to weld together a research team whose individual members come to the common task with different theoretical orientations, different substantive concerns, different approaches, and without even prior mutual acquaintance. It points to the benefits accruing from joint effort, and suggests some of the difficulties and costs of collaborative research. It also offers strong evidence that direct interviews with the total populations of many institutionalized political groups are not only feasible but promise to be a powerful weapon in the arsenal of social research. The authors are presently associated, respectively, with Vanderbilt University, Stanford University, the University of Southern California, and Michigan State University.*

Since 1955 the authors have been engaged in what has come to be known informally as the State Legislative Research Project (SLRP). Supported originally by grants from the Committee on Political Behavior of the Social Science Research Council to individuals and subsequently by grants for common expenses, such as conference and tabulation, the Project has examined "Some Critical Roles of American State Legislators." Other institutions, particularly the researchers' own universities, directly or indirectly contributed time, facilities, financial aid, and other assistance indispensable in particular phases of individual members' work.<sup>1</sup>

The study was based primarily upon intensive interviews with members of the legislatures of California, New Jersey, Ohio, and

Tennessee holding office in 1957. Ninety-four per cent (474) of the 504 legislators were questioned, using the same interview schedule in all four States, in interviews lasting an average of one-and-a-half hours. Some of the findings have been reported elsewhere and others are in the process of being reported.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, evaluation of the research turns ultimately on the value of the substantive results. But the authors' experience in performing that research points to some preliminary judgments about research methods and research processes that may be of interest quite apart from the subject-matter or the findings.

At least three innovations are worth noting. Most important is the use of collaborative techniques in the design, conduct, and analysis of research; a second is the effort to com-

<sup>1</sup> A most rewarding experience for the authors was the wholehearted encouragement, support, and assistance given the Project by a wide circle of individuals and institutions to whom they had no ties but those of respect and friendship. The Citizenship Clearing House of Southern Ohio, then under the guidance of Professor Howard White of Miami University, helped meet the costs of interviewing in Ohio. Professor Charles S. Hyneman, then of Northwestern University, Professor John A. Vieg of Pomona College, and Dr. Ralph Tyler, Director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, not only lent their interest but enabled the group to hold conferences in Evanston, Illinois, and in Claremont and Palo Alto, California. The Western Data Processing Center (U.C.L.A.), the Survey Research Center, and the Computer Center (U.C., Berkeley) provided facilities and assistance in the analysis of some of the data. Individual colleagues and friends at many institutions, of course, gave generously of their help and advice.

<sup>2</sup> See "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, III (1959), pp. 188-206; "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke," *American Political Science Review*, LIII (1959), pp. 742-56; "American State Legislators' Role Orientations toward Pressure Groups," *Journal of Politics*, XXII (1960), pp. 203-27; "The Legislator as Specialist," *Western Political Quarterly*, XIII (1960), pp. 635-61; and "Career Perspectives of American State Legislators," in Dwaine Marvick, ed., *Political Decision-Makers* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960). A complete account of the research is to be published by John Wiley and Sons.

bine such techniques with explicitly comparative methods of study; a third is the use of direct interviews with the total populations of certain institutionalized groups as a major source of data. The SSRC's Committee on Political Behavior played a significant entrepreneurial and supportive role with respect to these innovations.

#### HOW COLLABORATION DEVELOPED

The organizational history of the SLRP reveals a steady and unplanned transformation in the character and style of collaboration among the individual researchers. The group took shape only gradually, in a series of *ad hoc* decisions, first by the Committee and later by members of the Project.

The first step was the circulation of a memorandum by the Committee, in December 1954, soliciting comments and proposals from scholars interested in applying comparative methods to the study of American State politics. Although it was, of course, interested in substantive progress in this particular field, the Committee's ultimate concern was for findings of wider theoretical relevance and for experimentation in research methods, especially comparative methods. The Committee was apparently considering encouraging the formation of research "teams" toward this end, but this possibility was not mentioned in its memorandum.

The next step was taken at a conference in New York, July 1-2, 1955, sponsored by the Committee on Political Behavior and attended by most Committee members and some 15 political scientists who had answered the Committee's memorandum with statements of their research interests or actual research proposals. Of the authors, Buchanan had proposed to trace the representative process in Mississippi from constituency through legislators to the legislative end-product, analyzing roll-calls, committee-assignments, floor-speeches, election data, and so forth, and conducting interviews with legislators, lobbyists, newsmen, and public. Eulau had proposed to investigate urban-rural tensions in Ohio, relying heavily on interviews with legislators, newsmen, lobbyists, etc. Ferguson suggested research on legislative behavior in fourteen

States, using hand-books, journals, election and census data, etc., or, as an alternative, a pilot-project in two or three States. Wahlke proposed to examine the activity and influence of pressure groups in Tennessee, using documentary sources and later interviewing legislators, lobbyists, and others.

At the July meeting the Committee decided that the interests of the four authors were sufficiently similar to encourage them to explore further the possible development of a joint project, and provided a small sum enabling them to hold meetings for this purpose. Only at this point did any of the four authors consider seriously the possibility of participating in some kind of joint research project, although all had pondered means for broadening their individual efforts to obtain comparative data.

The explorations, consuming four days in September and three in October, 1955, led to a joint research proposal, approved by the Committee in November. This proposal still provided for four individuals to collect data, each in one State, using common research instruments and data categories. The proposal envisaged the following studies: legislators' constituency relations (Buchanan); urban-rural tensions in State legislatures (Eulau); authority- and party-structures in State legislatures (Ferguson); and State legislators' relations with pressure groups (Wahlke). The resultant data were to be exchanged, whereupon each individual would do a comparative analysis of his own subject matter in four States, without collaborating. In reaching this limited agreement, the interests of the four members were revised and narrowed as practical problems became more real.

The joint research proposal, it was discovered, demanded much more than simple reformulation of the four original plans. At the practical level, four over-ambitious data-specification schemes had to be compressed into the scope of a single person's capacity for research. At a somewhat higher methodological level, each individual had to ask himself what he was intending to compare, and what classes of comparable data he needed. At a still more difficult theoretical level, the group faced the question, what common conceptual



scheme (beyond mere common interest in some aspect of legislatures) underlay the objectives of the four researchers and should therefore determine what data were indispensable? In order to deal with such problems, the group began the practice of circulating working papers on each problem of theory or method as it arose or was recognized. These working papers, in turn, led each member of the team to concentrate increasingly on common problems and to think less in terms of only the narrower subject in which he was most immediately interested.

Working more than ever as a group, the members met for a month in August 1956 to develop the interview schedule and conduct pre-tests. This proved, surprisingly, to be more an exercise in theoretical consensus than in technical development. The theory was tested, argued, developed, pruned, and brought into line with the research instrument. These efforts paid off eventually, but a price was paid, too, in inadequate testing, revision, and excision of the schedule. Another conference had to be held for this reason. Even so, hasty decisions at this point were responsible for some subsequent misapprehensions and disagreements. In the field stage (January-June, 1957) all but one author managed to leave his own interviewing to visit and interview in at least one other legislature. With the interviews written up, and facing the task of analysis, the group realized again that close collaboration was imperative. Open-end questions were to be coded where each set of legislators had answered with a slightly different terminology and a slightly different set of institutions as referents. The entire summer of 1957 was therefore spent in conference developing the code categories and the common understanding necessary to use them.

By this time the four individual members had come to identify themselves as members of a thoroughly common enterprise. Though data for each State may have been collected and coded largely by one person, and though one person may have taken the first steps in analysis of each particular aspect of the problem under investigation, the preliminary thinking and the criticism of drafts of reports

was by now so collective that no member felt comfortable about solo authorship. Thus, the group came belatedly to recognize that a unified analysis of the project was needed, rather than a series of disjointed individual studies.

The Committee on Political Behavior granted the additional financial support necessary for this unanticipated effort, and the group spent the entire summer of 1958 again in conference to plan and begin the more comprehensive analysis. From this point on there were frequent shiftings and shufflings of responsibilities for topics, in which some of the original research objectives were transferred from one member of the team to another, some were indefinitely postponed, and entirely new lines of attack were developed. By its tenth and final meeting, September 2-7, 1960—held, appropriately, where the members of the group first met over five years earlier, in the offices of the Social Science Research Council—the SLRP had become a sufficiently unified and single-minded group to edit a book-length manuscript reporting its research in one package and, having thus surpassed its initial objectives, to dissolve itself in semi-formal fashion.

#### ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

This brief history of the Project suggests that collaboration can become much more than casual mutual aid, even though it may begin from a vague, large subject in common. Step by step, for SLRP, the notion that collaboration meant mutual readjustments of individual plans in the design stage of research gave way until it was finally realized that we could achieve joint effort at every stage—design, collection and coding of data, analysis, and, ultimately, reporting.

The advantages of complete and continual collaboration are many, the most obvious being efficiency and economy in data collection. No one of the group could have obtained the relatively enormous volume of interview data which the four of them (aided by a few interviewers, mostly students) did in six months. No one of them could have become familiar so quickly with the details of procedure in four so widely scattered legislatures, but four of them could approximate familiarity with

such facts by concentrating on one legislature each and pooling their experience in constant correspondence and frequent conferences.

Some advantages of collaboration, though less obvious, are more far-reaching. Not only does each individual gain in insight but the collective product represents more than a mere sum of individual cogitations. For example, had the interviews merely been exchanged without this jointly acquired background, as originally planned, much of the data would probably have been incomprehensible or misleading to the analysts. Though one may admit the superiority of "systematic" over "impressionistic" observation, one should not overlook the value of first-hand exposure to institutions as a background to interpreting them. More than once a plausible generalization was exploded by the comment from the researcher in one of the States. "Yes, but it doesn't work that way here because . . ."

Related advantages accrue at later stages of collaboration as well. The draft of each article and each manuscript of the SLRP got critical comments from three other persons familiar with the theory employed, with the character of the data (including its limitations), and with the institutional contexts in which the conclusions applied.

On the other hand, the difficulties and disadvantages of collaboration are not to be underestimated. The SLRP operated from beginning to end as a collegial group of equals, with no administrative head whose authoritative decisions might settle particularly difficult disputes threatening to disrupt the group and put an end to the Project. In such an operation the failure of one member can jeopardize the group's work. A convoy travels at the speed of its slowest ship, and each member felt at one time or another that, due to some personal distraction irrelevant to the Project, he was holding back progress. There were also times when the group engaged in lengthy controversy occasioned by nothing more than personality differences among its members.

More meaningful than the inevitable personality-based clashes, however, were those with a genuine intellectual basis. One in particular deserves comment. More than once the theoretically-oriented members felt that col-

laboration was forcing them to compromise objectives and substitute a fuzzy eclecticism for clean-cutting analysis. At the same time, the empirically-oriented felt that potentially rewarding areas of investigation were being sealed off and that valid and potentially useful observations were being dismissed or cut to fit pre-constructed theoretical pigeon-holes.

Despite all such hazards, however, the SLRP type of "headless" collaboration seems more productive in certain cases than simply mobilizing the necessary collective labor under more centralized management. The widening of both individual and group horizons through constant threshing out of tough problems in theory, research procedure, and analysis is more likely to accompany the cooperation of equals than the performance of assigned tasks in a hierarchy. On balance, then, although collaborative research makes unusual and stern demands on the researchers, if compared with individual or more highly organized team research its capabilities are distinctive and potent.

#### COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

It is difficult to summarize the SLRP's experience with comparative methods without reference to the data and findings obtained by them. Perhaps the most startling discovery was that the most troublesome theoretical questions are not those most often discussed in abstract methodological arguments about comparative method. In fact, they arise at the most primitive stage of research design. What precisely were the entities to be compared? Not four States, certainly. Four State legislatures, then? Eight chambers? Two political parties? Sixteen chamber-party-delegations? In any case, *what* about them should be compared?

To answer such deceptively simple questions it was necessary to specify with more than usual precision the independent variables to be investigated. The attempt to find answers and to define variables led to several extensive working papers, and many days of intensive discussion. Nor can it honestly be said that satisfactory answers were always found. It was eventually realized that the

SLRP was interested in describing the institutional framework of legislative politics, in relating the functioning of the legislature in the political system (as a dependent variable) to variations in institutional structure of the legislature (as an independent variable), and in relating variations in institutional structure (now as a dependent variable) to a series of independent variables in the wider political and social systems in the four States and in the personality and personal background of individual legislators. For this purpose, institutional or structural variations among the four legislators were described in terms of the respective role-concepts of the legislators in each. But much more important than the specific theory and conceptualization of the SLRP is the fact that, in order to make comparative analyses of any kind, its members were forced to spend a much greater proportion of their time hammering out a common theoretical formulation than any of them originally anticipated. This conceptual and theoretical activity went on at every stage of the Project, from design to writing of the most recent reports, and consumed somewhere between a quarter and a third of the time and energy of the group.

Devising tools and procedures for collecting comparable data in the four States, although relatively easy wherever the theoretical framework was clear, did pose some problems. For instance, the interview schedule had to be rigidly constructed and administered; yet it had to be adapted to the unique historical situation and the particular issues and customs in each legislature. Similarly, it was necessary to construct indices and measures of variables to be compared from State to State, even though peculiarities of the four States sometimes seemed to defy measurement by one common index. An example is the problem of devising a uniform measure, for party electoral competition in legislative districts, where length of terms of office, frequency of redistricting, historic trends and present state of party organization, meaning of party labels, and other relevant factors vary widely from State to State.

Much the same problems arose in the analysis stage of the SLRP. Does the term

"maverick" mean the same thing when used by a New Jersey legislator as when used by one in California, where Hiram Johnson's political vocabulary still survives? Does "lobbyist" mean the same thing from a Californian, in whose State lobbying is legally defined as a felony, as from a Tennessean, whose field of vision includes very little legislation on lobbying activities? In general, the SLRP sought the maximum of "operational equivalence" in the analysis as well as in the design stages of research. Where choice of research instruments or modes of analysis appeared to involve a choice between operational and "conceptual equivalence," the decision was usually in favor of seeking operational equivalence. Such decisions were never easy.

An unexpected by-product of the SLRP's use of comparative methods was the group's confrontation with knotty problems of statistical practice and theory which, in retrospect, appear to be inherent in comparative research. For instance, were the SLRP's generalizations applicable to a population of legislators in four particular States? A universe of four particular legislatures? A sample of four States in fifty? A sample of 474 legislators out of the thousands holding office in 1957? Of 474 out of the many more thousands past, present, and future? What statistical techniques are appropriate for evaluating the significance of particular findings or particular configurations of data, assuming one or the other of the sampling postulates? In self-consciously combining statistical and comparative techniques the SLRP was driven to contemplate problems of evidence and proof not often discussed in research accounts. In other words, adoption of the comparative method in the study of politics led the group to the frontiers of research methodology as well as to the frontiers of theory.

In summary, comparative research forced the SLRP to undertake theoretical and conceptual development which a case study or other non-comparative study might have avoided. It raised methodological problems for which solutions could not always be found. But these are actually points suggesting the merits of comparative methods, not limita-

tions upon them. The enormous power of those methods lies precisely in their capacity to direct attention to important problems of theory and method and to compel the researcher to make an effort to cope with them.

Finally, it must be noted that the collaborative character of the entire operation maximized the use and benefits of comparative study. Frequent confrontation of experiences from four different research sites would have forced the researchers to think comparatively even if comparison had not been a major feature of the research design. Because the group pooled the various interests and competencies of four differently oriented and differently trained analysts, it was able to deal with the constantly arising methodological problems associated with comparative techniques more effectively than could any one member.

#### SURVEY TECHNIQUES IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The SLRP's use of intensive interviews with the *total populations* of four comparable *institutionalized groups*, following a fixed schedule of questions fitted to theoretical concerns, was a novel venture. It points to some rather firm conclusions about the problems and promises of this research technique.

First, it seems to demonstrate clearly that, on the average, politicians and members of "elite" populations such as American State legislatures are accessible to interview, cooperate fully in interview situations, and give answers that are frank and reliable. Only a very few of the thirty (of 504) prospective respondents not interviewed gave outright refusals; many of them were missed through no fault of their own. Almost invariably, those who were interviewed became increasingly absorbed in the questions as their conversations proceeded; not uncommonly, as word of the project spread through a chamber, legislators would ask when they might have their turn at answering. The quality and completeness of interview data from such populations more than matches that from samples of a general public.

Of course, interviews with legislators are subject to the same general problems and

strictures as interviews in the more familiar type of public opinion research. Although the problems are the same, the character of the population to be interviewed sometimes suggests different answers and emphases. For example, pre-testing is more than ever important because members of an institutionalized group exhibit certain patterns and structures of thought about their political activity which must be recognized and incorporated in the wording and order of the questions asked. This serves not only to elicit appropriately relevant responses, but also to involve respondents in the interview process. It was the SLRP interview schedule itself which turned out to be the most effective tool for securing both *entrée* and rapport.

Particularly in an exploratory study, such as SLRP's, open-ended though focussed questions are likely to be more fruitful than closed or forced-answer questions. For one thing, the character of respondents in such an institutionalized group inclines them to prefer conversation of the former type. But so little perceptual or attitudinal research has been done in such populations, in any case, that the researcher cannot say with assurance what alternative answers he should provide for most important questions.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that interviews with legislators, and presumably many other "elite" populations, do not appear to require a unique sort of interview staff. Interviews of comparable quality were obtained by the authors themselves, their students both undergraduate and graduate (carefully trained, of course), and by interested non-academic interviewers.

Administering 474 interviews averaging an hour and a half in length requires essentially the same kind of planning and management as other interview studies. But the identifiability and frequent physical concentration of the population to be interviewed simplifies the job in some respects. Thus, the field stage of the SLRP was completed in approximately six months. Even so, laying the groundwork to maximize access and rapport is time-consuming, as is arranging times and places for interviews and related activities. On the average, the SLRP invested about one man-

day per respondent in the field stage.

The most significant feature of the SLRP's use of survey methods has more to do with theory than with methodology. Use of interviews here constituted application of "behavioral" research methods to the study of political *institutions*. The theoretical framework of the Project included specific recognition of the interdependence of so-called institutional, behavioral, and functional approaches to the study of politics. Indeed, the use of interviews with legislators as a principal data source was justified above all by theoretical assumptions. Responses of political actors whose behavior constitutes the institutions called "State legislatures" provide data about the perceptions associated with their behavior. Thereby they provide a dimension of understanding of legislative institutions and functions not obtainable by other research techniques.

Quite apart from the usefulness of the systematic data that an interview provides, the conduct of an interview forces the researcher, self-consciously or not, to engage in direct observation of the political process in which his respondents act. His interviews themselves provide him with experience and understanding well beyond the specific answers to questions in the interview schedule. The value of such unsystematic and subjective "unearned increments" in survey study of institutionalized groups may be hard to measure but it should not be discounted.

#### THE REQUIREMENTS OF COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH

The total investment in time and energy needed to complete such a project is probably much greater than commonly realized. The SLRP required five years, during which its four members crossed the country to confer with each other ten times. It should be emphasized that such an expenditure of energy resulted much less from the nature of the field work required than from the effort to make the research theoretically relevant and genuinely comparative. The allocation of SLRP time was approximately 15 per cent to design (planning, development of instru-

ments), 25 per cent to field work, 20 per cent to coding and analysis, and 40 per cent to analysis and writing of reports.

It is difficult to state accurately the financial costs of the Project since each individual member handled his own funds in his own way and only some \$6,000 was centrally accounted for. A major item was grants providing the opportunity for the four researchers to take time off from teaching—leave of absence of two quarters (in two cases) and two semesters (in the other two), plus support for three summers to obviate the researchers' need to teach then. The cost of thus freeing the team members to do research totalled about \$31,000, but some of this sum was spent by them on the research itself. Field expenses (payment of interviewers, travel expenses, stationery, postage, etc.) required about \$8,000; conferences and meetings cost about \$6,000, and such items as machine-tabulation and general clerical services took about \$5,000 more. Thus the total cost of the Project was, very roughly, \$50,000. Of this, the Social Science Research Council contributed, over a five-year period, approximately \$37,000 in grants to individuals and about \$6,000 to the group collectively. Some \$7,000 was contributed by other sources, principally the researchers' own institutions.

The demands of a personal nature imposed by this type of research should be recognized in advance by anyone contemplating similar efforts. If in 1955 the members had foreseen the duration of the Project, the demands it would make and the time it would pre-empt from other academic interests, they might have weighed more carefully whether to make the commitment. Today, realizing that much of their data has not yet been exploited, each individual faces with mixed sentiments the possibility of devoting the rest of his academic career to specializing in the State legislative process. Perhaps these sentiments merely reflect the letdown that accompanies the end of any large undertaking. But perhaps they reflect unexpected potency of the particular combination of research techniques built into the State Legislative Research Project.



# Elements of Automated Teaching

by ANTHONY BAKER

*The director of the automated teaching projects for the Autometric Corporation (NYC) concisely outlines the values and drawbacks of the new programmed learning methods. The evidence indicates that, given adequate programming, learning can be faster and better. The methods are still plagued by mechanical bugs, and materials often must be presented in rather uninteresting fashion. Nevertheless, automated teaching has marvellous potential for diffusing the world's pool of fundamental data and information among greater and greater numbers of people.*

What is known is now many times greater than what is being taught. The "Research Revolution" is spawning new knowledge far faster than formal education is able to incorporate it. While knowledge is increasing at an exponential rate, so are people. Now, half the world's children—a quarter of a billion souls—have no school at all, and the problem is compounded for the West as the patterns of illiteracy become the map of Communist expansion. Even in well developed nations, the supply of good teachers is short, while the demands for education of higher level and wider scope continue to lengthen.

## THE NATURE OF PROGRAMMED LEARNING

The problem of educating man's numbers in today's environment may soon be eased by exciting teaching techniques now being explored by psychologists: programmed learning by means of machine. Despite the current flood of publicity on their behalf, teaching machines are not a new idea. As far back as 1926, Sidney Pressey, visualizing a few of the possibilities of "automated teaching," designed several simple mechanical devices that could test and teach. B. F. Skinner, however, is the immediate harbinger of the current trends in automated teaching. Skinner's method consists of three principles. A sequence of problem materials is presented one item at a time; the student indicates or records his solution to each item; and, finally, the pupil learns immediately of the correctness of his response. Materials organized for this type of presentation are

termed "programs," and are particularly well suited for individual tutoring at each student's own best rate of learning.

A basic premise of programmed learning is that the student learns most easily, efficiently, and thoroughly when he proceeds through a course by a large number of small, easy-to-take steps. Using this premise, the pupil is presented a concept, or part of one; tested on his comprehension of this small amount of information; and then presented a new concept. From time to time, review questions repeat material, in both the same and differing contexts, to test for retention and transfer. Sets of problems also appear, providing practice in applying what has been learned.

There are other pedagogical advantages in teaching by machine—the student must participate actively in the learning process, reinforcement is continuous, mislearning is kept minimal. Another important factor that is often ignored in discussions of automated teaching methods is that course material presented by program is consistent from class to class and teacher to teacher. Tests indicate less "ragged" results when machine methods are used.

Some observers see grave dangers in this consistency, however. In the first place, since programs are the heart of machine teaching methods, the program must be good. Effective programs take time and experimentation to develop, and it is often feared that programmers will not adequately validate their material before putting it into potentially wide usage. Fortunately, in

their very nature, programs are easier to evaluate than conventional textbooks.

### EXPERIMENTAL APPLICATIONS

With good programming, students of widely varying attitudes and abilities can conquer traditional stumbling blocks in such courses as algebra, physics, grammar, and spelling. In a number of experiments, the results of learning by program have compared exceptionally well with conventional methods of instruction, in terms of achievement and retention. P. Kenneth Komoski, Director of the Automated Teaching Project at the Collegiate School in New York, reports that a 600-word French spelling program developed for sixth and seventh grade students was approximately twice as efficient as other spelling study methods. The format of material in the test was of the "Programmed Textbook" type. Other facets of the project at the Collegiate School include more complete language development programs, and similar efforts in mathematics, English, and science. The project is being supported, in part, by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Another impressive experiment was conducted last Summer in Roanoke, Virginia, at the Woodrow Wilson Junior High School. The test used a full year ninth grade algebra program, supplied by Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., and accompanied similar experiments in Illinois, Colorado, California, and New York. Instead of a programmed text the Roanoke experiment used a machine, the Skinnerian-based Foringer teaching machine, which is commercially available for about seventy dollars. The procedure followed was straightforward. All students "capable" of passing algebra were skimmed from the second semester, eighth grade class, based on pre-algebra and IQ tests. From the remaining students 34 were chosen at random, providing a normal cross-section. Supervised by a teacher but without using books, resorting to home assignments, or even explanations from the teacher, the group went through the 8,000-step program, covering the full algebra course in one semester. The result: 33 of the group were above and one pupil was below the norm

for ninth grade algebra students. According to usual "pre-screening" methods, none of these students would have taken algebra at all.

Educational psychologists stress the importance of immediate reinforcements in learning. Douglas Porter, in a fundamental and complete article in the March 1958 issue of the Harvard Graduate School of Education Association *Bulletin*, develops a rigorous case for the reinforcement aspects of automated teaching. One of Porter's points is that in today's classroom, the teacher is unable to provide immediate and effective reinforcements to thirty or more students at one time; and as a result, learning and retention suffer. The teaching machine (and the program in it), on the other hand, acts as an individual tutor and reinforces the student each time he makes a response. One of Dr. Pressey's early machines yielded a drop of candy for each correct answer. Reinforcement need not be that vivid.

### SHORTCOMINGS AND PROSPECTS

It is well to remember that the techniques and equipment of these new and basic tools for teaching are just beyond the breadboard stage. There is a real danger that in the transition from laboratory to operation automated teaching will be gadgeted unto death. Much of the machinery now on the market, for example, is unreliable mechanically and electronically. A number of machines are as uncomfortable to use as were the old-time desks in the one-room schools of our youth. But in the last analysis, these are simple problems that can be solved by engineers.

There are other shortcomings, too, which should be remembered when appraising the potential of automated teaching. Learning by program, although faster than more classic forms of instruction, still does not move as fast nor as interestingly as it might. All programs are now presented in ways that are merely modifications of books, and the printed page or some variation is not always the best way to display information.

Probably the most significant pitfall for automation in the classroom is that, in the eyes of many, it is just that—automation. The teaching profession is not immune to

fears born of unfamiliarity or newness. One common criticism can be traced directly: Since a programmed subject is organized for ease in reasoning and retention, the facts and concepts are often not presented in ways or sequences with which a person is familiar, resulting in the complaint that "X just isn't taught that way."

The most vociferous antagonists of programmed learning by machine base their arguments on the idea that automation spoils the interaction between teacher and student. This point of view can be answered. Graphics, testing, laboratory learning, and record-keeping have already mechanized the educational forum, of course. But the main point is that the right kind of automation can greatly improve the quality of the teaching relationship. The high efficiency of new devices for storage and retrieval of in-

formation can free some of the teacher's time for the more important tasks of imparting motivation and guidance to the student. Programming provides a useable error signal at every step in the learning process. This indication can be interpreted by the teacher, who can then better evaluate student progress and quickly define poorly understood material.

Thus, the goal of automation in the classroom cannot be merely gadgets for gadgets sake, but rather progressive, scientifically sound development and application of every modern technique necessary to bring education abreast of today's explosion of people and knowledge. Careful and objective integration of automation in the classroom with the whole teaching system in mind will free the teacher to concentrate upon the eclectic and theoretical aspects of learning.

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## IN THE NEWS

*continued from p. 2*

economic value of education to a nation's economic growth; \$250M to Stanford for research on the learning process; \$45M to Harvard for a 3-yr. study of the evolution of government in newly developed nations; and \$37.5M to SSRC for a survey of questions needing study concerning the political development of new governments. • Ford F. has recently given \$1 million to U. of Penna. for the development of non-Western studies; \$800M to ACLS for "research by senior scholars" on Asia, USSR, Eastern Europe; \$90M to *Stanford Research Inst.* for a study of small industry in newly developing countries and comparative studies in small-industry financing; \$60M to the U. of S.C.'s Grad. School of Business for visiting scholars in social science and quantitative methodology; \$54M to SSRC for research on Japanese economic development; and \$37M to Goddard College (Vt.) for a 2-yr. study of rural youth. • The Sloan F. gave \$200M to the *Natl. Bureau of Economic Research* for basic research on long-term trends in wages, productivity, and related factors in the U.S. • The Clapp and Poliak F. gave \$120M to Columbia's Grad. School of Journalism to train specialists in economic journalism. • The *Inst. of Public Admin.* (N.Y.) has received \$165M from several foundations to study methods of attracting qualified candidates for professional, managerial positions in city government. • Some 1960 grants not previously noted: Russell Sage F. gave \$13.9M to the U. of Calif. for the application of survey procedures to social science research; Resources for the Future gave \$10.8M to U. of Pitts. for a survey of data on resource development in underdeveloped areas, \$12M to Wayne State U. for a study of the collection and organization of economic data in major metropolitan areas.

## Topics and Critiques

### "THE SOCIAL RETURN ON INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION"

These words have an ominous ring. What is "social"—socialist? social conscience? "something all good men are agreed upon"? individual? "efficient"? majority? greatest number? What is "return"—money? pleasure? meeting a good wife? knowledge? keeping out of trouble? collective earnings? works of art produced? primary inventions, secondary ones? knowing the habits of the Eskimo, of organization-man, of the cockroach? What is the investment—government dollars and all their consequences as opposed to private dollars with all of theirs? the per capita study time of all varieties of students? the amount of tutoring or the number of lectures delivered to classes of 100 or more? And what is "education"—buildings? students, young or old? teachers? the process? the effect? on what? to whom? why?

These questions and many more occur as we learn that Dr. Gary Becker of the Columbia University Department of Economics and the National Bureau of Economic Research will spend \$75,000 of Carnegie Corporation money during the next two years to calculate society's rate of return on its investments in education. He will unearth how much money is being spent on all levels of education by all groups, and calculate the effects of education upon the nation's economic growth. The implications may then be used to help newer nations in planning their investment in education.

We are pessimistic (not knowing, we confess, the talents of Dr. Becker) because economics, the most successfully analytic of American social sciences, is the least successfully applied and practical. If we were doing this job, we should hire a clerk away from a statistical agency of the government, ask her to report in a year with all the figures she might gather, and then go off for a year of study of the philosophy, psychology, and sociology of education. And afterwards, if we should not have a burning sense of what education should be, or of appreciation of the position of others that a new economic accounting system is called for, we should turn back the unexpended balance of the grant on grounds that there are enough figures on education that lead nowhere or towards more of what we already have too much of.

### GERMAN AND SWISS INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

Heinz Hahn reports to us from Munich some of the research interests of the Social Science Study Circle for International Problems (SSIP), a non-governmental, semi-formal group to advance social-psychological research in Germany. They would like to carry out an international investigation on how Europeans of the Common Market view one another. Investigators, using intensive interviews and such devices as social distance scales and revised egalitarian scales, would inquire into ethnic notions, the sources of images in authoritative persons, war experience, travel, and the secondary media. Dr. Molnos and Dr. Fischer from Zürich reported preliminary work at Europa Haus Schliersee (Upper Bavaria) last fall.

Early this year, several German travel agencies, Catholic and Protestant representatives, social scientists, and education groups of international concerns founded a "Study Circle for Tourism" to generate interest in and organize and conduct studies of the motives and expectations of tourists, their attitudes and behavior, changes wrought in the visited communities by tourists, and changes in the tourists themselves. American cooperation is invited.

In 1961 the Circle will hold two conferences on the social and cultural adjustment problems of South European workers working in Germany, Switzerland, and perhaps France. There is scientific interest, of course, in the study of social contact and change, but more than this, many millions of people are affected by the large-scale migrations occurring.

## THE GENESIS OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

An early-stage schizophrenic remembers better what he did than an advance-stage schizophrenic, though both have performed the same task, reported Samoff A. Mednick and Jerry H. Higgins of the University of Michigan psychology department at the 65th annual meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters. This finding supports Mednick's theory that early schizophrenics start with an abnormally high level of anxiety, then learn to ease their anxiety by way of thinking farfetched thoughts, and finally end up in their later stages in a state of subnormally low anxiety. (Rehearsing this process each month, the *ABS* editor has continually missed the third stage, thus getting a cheap proof that he isn't *that* sick.)

The present experiment began with this reasoning: (1) Abnormally high anxiety besets early-stage schizophrenics, while advance-stage schizophrenics show a subnormally low level of anxiety. (2) Since anxiety is a form of drive, the greater the anxiety, the greater the drive. And knowing that greater drive results in greater "reminiscence" (improvement of memory of an experience with the lapse of time since that experience), how would the early and advance-stage schizophrenics perform in reminiscence? In the experiment the psychologists used 32 male schizophrenics, ranging from early- to advance-stage. After a brief practice trial, the subjects were instructed to "print out the whole alphabet from right to left printing each letter upside down." At the end of the fifth trial, the subjects were given a two-minute rest. After that they were asked again to begin the task.

The results demonstrated several points: (1) Early schizophrenics show significantly greater "reminiscence" effects than do late schizophrenics. (2) Early and late schizophrenics are at different levels of anxiety. (3) An "early and advance-stage" distinction in schizophrenia is a useful one. It makes more sense because when schizophrenics were classified as "acute" and "chronic" on the basis of length of hospitalization, their differences in reminiscence scores were not significant.

## A BOUQUET AND A QUERY

Editor Benjamin Nelson of *Psychoanalysis and the Psychonanalytic Review* is so kind as to write, "Whatever happens, do not permit my subscription to lapse. I am enjoying the successive issues hugely and would hate to miss one." And he also says: "To what extent would you consider the selection you have made of the behavioral scientists of the year representative? In the same spirit, I would raise some questions about the selections in the bibliography. I am impressed by certain omissions and evaluations. I should add that I would hardly expect perfect agreement on matters of this sort."

We would hardly use "lack of means" as an excuse for all our faults (one writer said "print too small" in refusing a subscription), but indirectly it has something to do with many and directly with some faults. Using panels of judges, who are agreed upon the concept of social science held by this journal and who come from various disciplines, would have helped both the selection of the behavioral scientists of the year and the bibliography, which has been largely the editor's idea of what the "ideal behavioral scientist" would want to know in his role as a general student of man. Perhaps if we take the creation of the *ABS* itself as proof that we do not use the excuse of "lack of means" lightly, then we may be permitted that excuse on some of the details of its existence.

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"What is the answer?" (*silence*)

"In that case, what is the question?"

Last words of Gertrude Stein



# Churches as Molders of American Politics

by DANIEL J. ELAZAR

*Few who argue the relations of church and state know much about the basic interrelations of the two. This article, by an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, the University of Illinois, is not the ABS's first in religious sociology. It has exceptional merits, however, in highlighting the background meanings of religion in American life at a time when the nation is blundering through an unenlightened debate on aid to "parochial" education.*

The church in American social writing is usually dealt with in terms of narrow questions of "church vs. state." As a result, important aspects of the role of the churches in American political history are neglected. This article points out four salient areas of church impact on the civil community in America over time, other than by direct intervention on specific issues (such as prohibition) or by influencing voting behavior (as in the 1928 and 1960 presidential elections). Though Rockford, Illinois, is the only community cited, the writer's research in other communities indicates that the same general principles have broad application on the American scene. Rockford is like many another community. Its church history lets us begin the inquiry into the church subculture in community politics.

## THE CONGREGATIONAL SYSTEM

In the first place, the congregational system of church government, which was in use in some form or another in most of the denominations whose members settled the American land frontier, provided a basis for the teaching and institutionalization of democratic patterns of government. Churches founded colonies that became cities. Church covenants taught members about constitutions and constitutionalism. Lay officers guided the churches, and the methods of their selection provided training in the electoral process. Democratic church administration was part of the fabric of increasing democracy in the public administration. Indeed, the very shape of a community's character often rests heavily on the role of a

particular church or religious movement in its establishment.

In Rockford the first political actives for the most part were not men with past experience in the government of cities, but most of them did have records of activity in the establishment and government of congregations. Perhaps therein lies the source of their political knowledge. Political professionalism in Rockford came later, when it came at all. The major training ground for many politists over many years was their church congregation.

## ALTERNATIVES TO ORTHODOXY

The second way in which the church has contributed to the American political process has been through providing non-radical alternatives to religious and concurrent political orthodoxy. In Europe, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century upheavals, the traditional, established churches remained orthodox in religious doctrine and political outlook. Liberals, radicals, and others who recognized the new needs of changing times abandoned the church and, often, the social structure that the church represented; they became revolutionaries in opposition to what they considered to be a reactionary social order. In the United States, on the other hand, these same churches were voluntary organizations usually controlled by the lay membership (if for no other reason than that they paid the bills). Consequently, when and where the spirit of change was abroad, either the traditional church itself changed, becoming less orthodox religiously, politically, or both; or the

liberals joined other religious denominations that already represented more of the new liberal spirit of the age. Atheism, agnosticism, and general disillusionment with organized religion were of course common views in the United States as in Europe, especially among intellectuals. However, they did not suffuse American society and did not alienate the better-known reformers and progressives in this country, or their followers. Thus the church in America has, in the main, been more a prophetic than a priestly institution, more concerned with harmonizing the changing order than clinging to the status quo. Consequently, it has been able to combine the religious link to the past with the social desire for progress in a more or less orderly fashion.

The history of the Swedish immigrants in Rockford illustrates this process. Most of the Swedes stayed within the Lutheran Church, but gradually modified the Church's orthodoxy. Some were not content with this and, capitalizing to some extent on secession movements previously thwarted in their old homeland, organized the Swedish Evangelical Church with a congregational form of government and the Swedish Free Church with more liberal doctrines. Still others, interested in Americanization of their thoughts and habits, formed Swedish Methodist and Baptist churches. In any case, it became unnecessary to abandon organized religion for the sake of "modernity" since it was always possible to reorganize religion along more modern lines. The part this movement played in limiting the growth of American radicalism is not yet really known, but it seems clear that it was considerable. The political repercussions of this are not hard to perceive. In great measure because of Rockford's ethnic background, left-of-center politics was the dominant persuasion of many of its citizens from about 1890 to 1940. The record shows that, during this period, progressivism and moderate socialism flourished in Rockford (to the point of capturing the city government in 1921 and maintaining control of it until 1957). At the same time, attempts at more radical movements failed to survive and develop.

## A NEW PLURALISM

As is well known, the various churches in America have provided a means for the maintenance of socio-cultural distinctions within American society. Ethnic churches are as old as the English colonies. Since the immigrants from the old world came to this country identified with an ethnic group that almost invariably had its own church, it was possible to use that church, transplanted to these shores, as an ethnic as well as religious center. In many cases, the churches were put to the same use by settlers from the eastern seaboard who migrated westward. Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania and the southeastern States brought the Presbyterian Church across the mountains to serve as their fundamental culture-preserving institution just as New Englanders took Congregationalism with them for the same purpose. It was only in the Ohio valley that America began to give birth to non-ethnic denominations such as Methodism, whose roots were in the separated church-state tradition of the United States.

Later, more obviously ethnic churches were established by immigrants coming directly from the old world. Today a city like Rockford, with a population of 126,000, has churches whose ethnic origins can be traced back to Yankees, Scotch-Irish, Irish, Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, Englishmen, Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans.

The patterns of ethnic church behavior are also quite familiar by now. At first the ethnic churches tried to preserve the old cultures intact within the American environment. When this proved to be impossible, they became devices for their members' easier assimilation into American life. In recent years, the pluralistic elements in the old ethnic churches have been revived in new and different ways, which usually bear little resemblance to the original patterns of ethnic pluralism. These new patterns call for new analysis; they may portend an entirely new type of pluralism, not the "cultural pluralism" discussed half a century ago but an indigenous American pluralism. In general they are serving to strengthen a group

of semi-religious subcultures within the American civilization. These subcultures are known to be rooted in churches but are actually expanding beyond the confines of organized religion.

The Rockford community provides several examples of this new development. The only Congregational Church in the civil community, with a membership of 3,500, serves as a center for the maintenance of an upper and upper middle class, cosmopolitan, business-professional subculture which contains within it a modern version of the New England tradition which gave birth to it, but which has assimilated non-Yankees to that tradition in small, select numbers, much in the manner in which immigrants to a new country are assimilated into the dominant way of life. These "emigrants" have migrated to a new "country" (more likely a new world, in Rockford) via wealth and educational attainments, coupled with their desire to assimilate.

Similarly, the local Catholic Church (membership 26,000) has a constellation of subcultures on an even broader scale, cutting across all class and ethnic lines, yet retaining subcultures for the descendants of Germans, Irish, Italians, Lithuanians, and Poles plus their new assimilants. The Greek Orthodox (membership several hundred) and Jewish (membership 1,000) religious institutions have more tightly maintained ethnic-religious subcultures, which include the provision of supplementary schooling, community centers, and fraternal organizations, though of a newer "American" style that is outwardly highly assimilated to the general community pattern. In a similar vein, the Scandinavian churches are renewing their ethnic identities by a broadened (*i.e.*, not just Swedish) interest in certain "cultural" aspects of the old ethnic ties.

The above view of the importance of this new pattern is enhanced by the accretion of at least surface evidence that such non-Protestant religious groups as the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Jehovah's Witnesses are also building subcultures along similar lines, without any visible ethnic bases, in order to fit properly into the new American environment. So, too,

are the Negroes, as they move away from caste status and begin the search for more "American" forms of subcultural differentiation.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this new phenomenon is the development of population groups that actively and sincerely identify with one or another of these religious subcultures without being churchgoers (or, perhaps, by becoming very nominal church members). This group is introducing an element that both secularizes and expands what would otherwise be a narrowly religious horizon bounded by the historic concerns, usually ritualistic, of the various churches. The existence of this group is just now becoming apparent and its impact is too new to be measured as yet. Its interests are in the more secularized "way of life" approaches rather than the traditional "religious" or ritual concerns. It is this group, which identifies with a "tradition" rather than a "religion," which may be the most important in this new pluralism. Its members are filling the interstices between the churches and they are diffusing the so-called religious values in the larger body politic. In the political world, they are bringing about a legitimate mixture of "religion and politics" in new ways much influenced by the "social gospel" of old.

Since these church subcultures usually cut across economic, educational, geographic, and other more obvious social divisions, in a fashion that is rather paradoxical from an historical point of view, they generally create less cleavage in our society than the others. This role of religious groups in reducing social cleavage is one perhaps unique to the pluralistic American civilization. Furthermore, an ethic of interdenominational cooperation ("dialogue" is the term now in vogue among the religionists) is developing to embrace all religious groupings. This ethic is, on the one hand, limiting the degree of cleavage by emphasizing their common assimilation into an American culture while, on the other, it is making the various denominations more cognizant of their own particular traditions or "ways of life," which in turn are beginning to reach beyond the traditional questions of ritual.

Thus, controversies over forms of baptism are declining in importance while theology on a new level is having a revival.

This "new pluralism" has many ramifications. It is intimately connected to the limited ecumenicalism presently found in non-fundamentalist American Protestantism. It is closely related to the so-called religious revival in post-war American life. It is certainly linked to the decline of anti-semitism, the renewed struggle for Negro rights, and the limited rise of non-Christian religions on the American scene. Its consequences for American politics can probably be shown at least in voting patterns on issues with religious overtones, such as questions of civil rights, education, censorship, and legislated morality.

In the Rockford area, the new pluralism has been more or less formally recognized in the political process. Rockford citizens make use of local parties in city and township elections. While city council elections are ward-based so that ethno-religious differences are expressed geographically, Rockford Township (which embraces more than the city's area) sends 18 representatives elected at large to the County Board of Supervisors. The local Citizens Party, which exists only to nominate and elect these 18 and which is usually unopposed at the polls, is quite careful in its slate-making. A major factor that it considers in "balancing" its slate is the new ethno-religious one ("Catholic-Protestant-Jews"). Its care in securing representation for the new pluralism on the County Board no doubt contributes greatly to the consensus that it rallies behind its ticket, particularly since the same elements that unite in the Citizens Party fight bitterly in the arena of municipal politics. Ticket-balancing among these subcultures is certainly not the only reason for the minimization of conflict here, but it is one of the important ones.

#### NON-CENTRALIZATION

Perhaps the most significant contemporary contribution of the church to American political life is its general maintenance of the

principle and practices of non-centralization. The church in America, even the Catholic Church to a significant degree, is a non-centralized institution both vertically and horizontally. At last count, there were 81 formally organized church groups in the United States that had memberships of 50,000 or more. This is horizontal non-centralization with a vengeance. Within perhaps 75 per cent of these 81 church groups, most individual congregations have a great deal of freedom. Among the other 25 per cent, many are so small in size that the polarity between centralized and non-centralized organization is essentially meaningless. Even the Catholic Church, based as it is on the principle of hierarchy, is formally decentralized by diocese and, informally, individual parishes have benefited from the general religious climate in the United States by becoming even more independent.

In a society whose economic and cultural life is increasingly centralized, the influence of its non-centralized sectors and aspects becomes increasingly important in maintaining a non-centralized political system. The local church, like the local school and the local political organization, provides a vital countervailing force to the pressures for centralization and thus contributes measurably to the maintenance of the American political system as traditionally constituted.

The Rockford classified telephone directory lists 128 separate churches, or approximately one for every 1,000 residents, representing approximately 62 different denominations, church groups, or ethnic churches. We already have some idea of the influence of church contacts on voting behavior. From our knowledge in that area, it is not unreasonable to extrapolate, for future investigation, the existence of political consequences that flow from this high level of diversity and non-centralization in a most important aspect of American civilization.

The foregoing remarks and supplementary data are but a brief preview of what seem to be broad possibilities for research in a field long neglected but extremely relevant to American political behavior.

## Class Structure and Communist Theory

by JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

*An analysis of the writings of Communist theorists, particularly Asian Communists, demonstrates the flexibility of Communist theory for dealing operationally with the underdeveloped areas and their people. Class theory has been continuously modified and elaborated to justify the proletariat's alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, and even with national capitalists, in the early stages of the multistage revolution. Mr. van der Kroef, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Bridgeport, intends this analysis as a reply to the abstracts and commentary on "New Soviet Doctrines on Underdeveloped Areas" by Andrew Janos in the February issue of the ABS.*

The article by Andrew C. Janos in the February 1961 issue of the *ABS* leaves certain important operational aspects of Communist theory as applied to underdeveloped countries unmentioned, probably legitimately so, since the author was concerned with Soviet Russian theory only. The Communist class theories at the present time, however, have proved to be of great tactical value for the movement as a whole, and belie the editorial assertion at the head of Mr. Janos' article that theorists of the Soviet world "find it increasingly difficult to draw operational inferences from classic Marxist generalizations." The reverse is true, quite apart from the difficulty of defining the term "classic." And even if one regards the term "Marxist" as pertaining exclusively to the ideas of the person of Marx, there remains considerable room to draw operational inferences for class theory, since in that theory Lenin must always be placed in conjunction with Marx, and Soviet theoreticians thus interminably refer to "Marxist-Leninism." If one considers the term Marxist in a somewhat broader sense, especially in context with Leninist ideas and interpretations, then, too, it becomes necessary to emphasize that the Marxist "generalizations" were not exclusively derived from European historical experience and seem even less so derived today.

### THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IN COMMUNIST THEORY

One of the documents presented by Mr. Janos deals with current Soviet recognition of the important role to be played by the "national bourgeoisie," in alliance with peasants and workers, in the revolutionary development of colonial and formerly colonial areas. It is well to stress that the historical perspective of this concept is quite a long one. The significance of the petty bourgeoisie, indeed of "the middle classes in general, stepping alongside the proletariat" in a common front, adhering to "democratic republican institutions" and directed against dictatorship, was recognized by Marx in his *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*.<sup>1</sup> In this treatise one already finds implicit the thought that while a segment of bourgeois capitalism, in alliance with repressive political power, must, of course, be overthrown, another bourgeois element can serve the common revolutionary interests of peasants and workers. Marx later came to view the potential value of the bourgeoisie differently, but his earlier thought recurs again and again in subsequent Communist theory. Lenin, for example, prior to 1905, advocated a proletarian-bourgeois alliance, on behalf of what he called a "bourgeois" revolution that would establish the fundamentals of liberal democracy in Russia. He even warned his associates against stressing socialist long-

<sup>1</sup> *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (edited by Lewis S. Feuer). New York: Anchor Books, 1959, p. 315.



range aims too much, and saw representatives of the bourgeois as his principal allies in his fight against the Tsarist order.<sup>2</sup> Even after 1905, while attempting to attract peasant support, Lenin continued to play upon the themes of "bourgeois democratic" government and the proprietary and essentially capitalistic inclinations of the peasantry.<sup>3</sup> Implicit in Lenin's thought here is the two-stage revolutionary concept, with the first stage seeing the establishment of a bourgeois democracy, and the second the establishment of socialism. It is true that Marxist theoreticians have not always been consistent in their theories of the—especially petty—bourgeoisie, but the evidence of the general significance of the bourgeoisie in Marxism-Leninism should not be overlooked.

The necessity of an alliance among urban bourgeois elements, peasants, and workers appears explicitly in the 1926 directives of the Comintern's Executive Committee to the Chinese Communists.<sup>4</sup> That this involved an open accommodation of bourgeois capitalistic interests is simply not in question. Bukharin, describing the "perspectives" of the Chinese revolution in an article in 1927, declared that in China "a certain measure of capitalistic conditions will have to be tolerated; in all probability by far exceeding those in the Soviet Union," where the promulgation of the New Economic Policy had restored private property concepts after 1921. The Soviet Russian N.E.P. was of great significance for Communist theoreticians in underdeveloped countries. Thus, Tan Malaka, a major Indonesian Communist figure, declared around 1925 that Communist strategy in Indonesia would have to make allowance for the capitalistic interests of the non-proletarian elements of society, just as he believed the N.E.P. had done in Russia.<sup>5</sup>

Not just the "European historical experience" but Asian experience and the experience of other underdeveloped areas under colonial control dictated these Com-

munist views on the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Lenin and other theoreticians in the Comintern in the early nineteen-twenties continuously concerned themselves with the structural patterns of Asian socio-economy, especially with the role of the peasantry and the native or petty bourgeoisie. In China, as in Indonesia, Communist thought held the bourgeoisie to be of two types, *compradore* and national. The former seems essentially a pejorative term, but even so it is operational: it comprises those indigenous entrepreneurs and professionals allied with or wholly dependent upon foreign, usually Western, capital (e.g., in plantations and mines) and whose outlook is therefore described as "imperialistic." The national bourgeoisie are an underdeveloped country's variant of the Marxist-Leninist concepts of the "petty-bourgeoisie," i.e., the autochthonous small traders and independent craftsmen. Should an underdeveloped country exchange colonial for independent status, the national bourgeoisie may still "suffer" from the continuing presence of foreign capital and of "imperialism" in the country, and thus it may also continue to provide the Communists with potential allies. This was one of the key thoughts in Mao Tse-tung's "On New Democracy" (1940), in which a two-stage revolution along Leninist lines is developed, with the "petty bourgeois" elements joining the proletariat and the peasantry in defeating imperialism and big foreign capital, but in which there is explicit recognition of indigenous, small-scale capitalism. The same distinctions appear in the writings of D. N. Aidit, the Indonesian Communist Party's Chairman and chief theoretician today. Aidit is, in fact, even more flexible than Mao, for as early as 1954 he argued that although both the *compradore* and national bourgeoisie are given to "wavering" and need to be watched closely, the party can not only cooperate with the national bourgeoisie, but

<sup>2</sup> Alfred G. Meyer, *Leninism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, pp. 117-18.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Wittfogel, "The Legend of Maoism," *The China Quarterly*, January-March 1960, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> "Theses on the Chinese Situation, November-December, 1926," in X. J. Eudin and Robert C. North, eds., *Soviet Russia and the East: A Documentary Survey*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957, pp. 356, 359-62.

<sup>5</sup> N. Bukharin, "Perspektiven der Chinesischen Revolution," *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, 1927, p. 669; H. J. Benda and R. T. McVey, eds., *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960, pp. 130-31 and note no. 60.

even with the compradores in certain specific "anti-imperialist" frames of action.<sup>6</sup>

### OPERATIONAL USES OF THEORETICAL DISTINCTIONS

The distinctions drawn among compradore, national, and so-called "haute" bourgeoisie (the last being defined as "adventurers" and profiteers interlocked with "foreign monopolists") in Danilevich's article dealing with Latin American conditions should, therefore, be interpreted in two ways. First, these class distinctions reflect the Communist policy that only some bourgeois elements need to be isolated and made the target of a specific Communist action, and that the rest of the bourgeoisie—even the compradores under certain conditions—can be potential allies of the Communists in a definite united front action. Secondly, it reflects a process that has become extremely common in Communist theory in the last fifteen years, namely, the discovery of ever more new and different social sub-strata, based on definable economic differentials, which party theory and strategy can manipulate. This process also emphasizes the abandonment of more inclusive and uncompromising class antitheses (e.g., "proletariat" vs. "the bourgeoisie") with which Communist theory has popularly been associated.

Few leading theoreticians today have been so adept in this strata subdividing as party chairman Aidit of Indonesia. Khrushchev's recognition (referred to in the Zukhov article translated by Mr. Janos) of the important problems existing 'in the agrarian sector' of newly independent underdeveloped countries today merely mirrors the Indonesian party's view that the "essence of the Indonesian Revolution" is "the agrarian revolution." This position echoes Mao's assertion in "On New Democracy" that "the Chinese Revolution is in essence a revolution of the peasantry." In order to build his party's peasant base as broadly as possible Aidit has even sub-

divided the Indonesian landlords into "imperialists" and "patriotic" types. The former are allies of domestic Indonesian Muslim subversive groups and rebel bands, the latter are supporters of the national government. The land of the former should be confiscated, but the party at present not only allows the "patriotic" landlords to retain their land (asking merely that they reduce slightly the rents charged to their tenants), but even declares that the "contradiction" between the "patriotic" landlords and "the people" is "not basic."<sup>7</sup> In the same vein Aidit discerns three types of peasantry, rich, middle, and poor, depending on the size of their holdings, the degree of their proletarianization, and the extent of their exploitation of the landless villagers. Although the rich peasants have more or less "feudal" tendencies, even they, according to Aidit, can be enlisted in the struggle against imperialism.

Elsewhere I have pointed to the operational significance of this Communist strata terminology for a present-day analysis of Indonesian rural society.<sup>8</sup> In effect, Aidit's class subdivisions meet a major tactical need of the party. In his commentary Mr. Janos points out that Soviet theory seems to be concerned with building support for neutralist national elites and cautions against a too-narrowly-based organizational structure (e.g., relying exclusively on the party) in underdeveloped countries. Mr. Janos states that this approach reflects Soviet concern that a too narrow or aggressive line would drive the uncommitted nations into the Western camp. I would not wholly disagree with this interpretation, but would rather stress the necessity presently confronting Communist parties of building their united or national fronts—a principal tactical objective of the Communist movement in all underdeveloped countries today. It is the Communist promotion and infiltration of such national fronts which dictates the often baffling pattern of Communist alliances, in which even landlords and com-

<sup>6</sup> D. N. Aidit. *Pilihan Tulisan* (Vol. 1). Djakarta, 1960, pp. 248-49.

<sup>7</sup> D. N. Aidit, "Unite Forward Along the Path of Guided Democracy for the 100% Implementation of the President Sukarno Concept," pp. 8-9 in *Documents: Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia*, supplementary issue of *Review of Indonesia* (Djakarta), No. 12, 1958.

<sup>8</sup> J. M. van der Kroef, "Land Tenure and Social Structure in Rural Java." *Rural Sociology*, XXV (1960), pp. 414-30.

pradore bourgeoisie can be included. As for the danger of being driven into the Western camp, it is often caused not by domestic party aggressiveness but rather by *external* Communist pressure, e.g., Red China's border conflict with India, which has greatly embarrassed the Indian Communists and has promoted a more pro-Western "neutralism" in India of late.

### THE MULTI-STAGE REVOLUTION

It is to be feared that while the two articles on Soviet theory translated by Mr. Janos may perhaps be "new Soviet doctrines" they are definitely not new Communist doctrines. In the Zukhov article the recognition of the importance of the national bourgeoisie, of the formation of the nation-state as a stage in the development of all societies, and of the contribution which the petty bourgeoisie can make to the proletarian revolution, can scarcely be described as novel. The Zukhov article points out that in the new Asian and African countries the peasant struggle is to be directed against "medieval" remnants, not against capital. After what Asian Communist theoreticians have been saying for several decades now about the primacy of the struggle against "feudalism," while indigenous capital in the meantime is to be accommodated, this "new" echo from Moscow is rather old-hat. Zukhov also argues that despite current socialist leadership and "democratic measures" in a number of underdeveloped countries, such as Indonesia and India, this does not mean "that these countries are already in the stage of socialism." A few months before Zukhov wrote, the Indonesian Communists went him one better on this. Not only is a country like Indonesia not now in a state of socialism, according to D. N. Aidit, it is ridiculous to talk about establishing socialism in Indonesia now. The following excerpts from the Indonesian party's principal daily explain why. The first excerpt is from a speech by Aidit, the second is from an editorial:

In brief, our revolution has two stages. The first stage or the short-term struggle is: to complete in its entirety the August Revolution which is national and democratic in character, which means completely liquidat-

ing imperialism and feudalism in our country. As regards the latter, that is, the liquidation of feudalism, this is only possible if we seriously carry out land reform. The second stage or our long-term struggle is: to build a Socialist society on Indonesian soil. A Socialist society, and I think it is true too of a "Socialist-à-la-Indonesia society," is a society without the exploitation of man by man, a just society, and one which, as successes are achieved in the building of Socialism, will gradually become a prosperous society.

We cannot possibly complete the second stage of our revolution before we have completed the first stage. We cannot possibly build a Socialist society before we have completely liquidated imperialism and the survivals of feudalism from our country. The spearhead of our revolution must be aimed at these two enemies of the people. Only in this way will our revolution succeed in making it quite impossible for these two enemies of the people to rise again, and only then will the road leading towards a Socialist society in Indonesia be wide open.

All talking and shouting about a Socialist society is a joke, deception, is just a showing off if there is any half-heartedness, lack of genuineness, or lack of desire to liquidate imperialism and feudalism. A person cannot possibly talk seriously now about building a Socialist society in Indonesia so long as imperialism and feudalism are still tolerated. . . . (*Harian Rakjat*, Djakarta, March 18, 1960).

. . . One hundred and twelve years ago, Karl Marx and Frederik Engels, the founders of Socialism, wrote that there are various kinds of Socialism, from proletarian Socialism to petty bourgeois Socialism and feudal Socialism. And history during these past 112 years has fully borne out the analysis made by Marx and Engels. Thus, at the present time, we see in the world Marxist Socialism as in the Soviet Union and China. For example, and then there is revisionist Socialism as in Yugoslavia, and Nehru Socialism—which some newspapers in India call "Socialism with poverty"—and there is also colonial Socialism of the variety of Mr. Drees from the Netherlands.

It has become apparent that a lot of confusion has arisen in the discussions of "Socialism à la Indonesia" now taking place. . . .

There seems to be a paradox in Indonesia today. The Communists hold that Socialism is not a programme for the present time.

while the non-Communists are urging that Socialism be established straight away. For demagogic reasons, some people are using anti-capitalist slogans right now. But these are only words. In actual fact, they are developing capitalism in general. But the Communists are doing quite the reverse. They are being realistic and rejecting the demagogic appeals and are in fact defending capitalism, not capitalism in general, but only national capitalism, while demanding that imperialist capitalism be eliminated. The Communists state in their program that the solution at the present time is not Socialism, but a system referred to as People's Democracy, that is, a system in which national capitalism is protected and favoured in the interests of overall national economic development. . . . (*Harian Rakjat*, Djakarta, January 12, 1960).

This concept of the "two-stage revolution" is frequently held to be "Maoist," though it was explicit in varying degrees in the thought of Marx and Lenin, and in the early directives of the Comintern to the Communist movement in Asia. At present it is the most important single feature of Communist strategy in the underdeveloped countries of the world. By concentrating on a first phase the Communist today also concentrates on social class typology, on the building of a front that unites greatly divergent social and economic interests against "imperialism" (i.e., actual colonial control, or the lingering post-colonial presence of Western capital or against diplomatic alliances with or military pressures from the West) and against "feudalism" (at present primarily a term reflecting the party's emphasis on the need for land reform). In Latin America, therefore, the stage of the nineteenth-century wars of independence and the stage of "liberation" from United States domination are not two separate stages as Mr. Janos' interpretation would lead one to believe; they are part of the same preliminary revolutionary phase, variously described as "bourgeois democratic," "liberal democratic," "national

democratic" and so on. Freedom from political colonialism must be "perfected," as current jargon has it, by freedom from economic colonialism, which is why the national bourgeoisie competing with the remnants of colonial capital in its own country can be the ally of the revolutionary proletariat in a common anti-imperialist front, and why Communists from Cuba to Indonesia can claim that they are "defending" national capitalism. At the same time Communist literature, whether in Brazil (where the sharecropper and tenant associations or *Ligas Camponesas* are steadily being infiltrated) or in Viet Nam (where the land-reform schemes of President Diem's "agrovilles" have not produced much enthusiasm among the younger peasantry), stresses that the evils of landlordism and indebtedness persist because foreign "imperialist" capital is allied with some of the "feudal" landlords. Thus the twin targets of the revolutionary Communist struggle in the first phase are presumably really one.

Far from having no class dialectic to meet the problems of underdeveloped countries, present-day Communist theory on the contrary is ideally attuned to the historical development of the economies of these countries and is either holding its own or making steady headway. The excerpts from Soviet writers presented by Mr. Janos suggest that Soviet thought has given its renewed approbation to concepts that were already current among its earliest founders, and which were based, even decades ago, on the emerging world of the underdeveloped countries. It is precisely this flexibility of Communist theory that must always be stressed. Lin Piao, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, in reviewing the recently published fourth volume of Mao's collected works eulogized his colleague and master by declaring that "Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism."<sup>9</sup> The operational word here is "creatively"—it reflects a dynamic which the West can only ignore at its peril.

<sup>9</sup> Lin Piao, "The Victory of the Chinese People's Revolutionary War is the Victory of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung," *China Reconstructs* (Peking), December 1960 (special supplement), p. 2.

## New Studies in Behavioral Science and Public Policy

These items are selected and annotated by the ABS staff in a periodic search of new issues of 250 journals and reviews, including about 100 that are published outside the United States, and from announcements and review copies of books and fugitive materials recently published. Some items of special interest are boxed. Books listed here, and other books in print, can be ordered through the ABS Book Service at a 10 per cent discount from their list price.

ABBOTT, J. C., "Information on Foreign Marketing." *J. of Marketing*, XXV (Jan. '61), 42-46. The nature and scope of marketing analyses and reports—on consumer research, advertising effectiveness, structure of distribution, etc.—and bibliographic services listing them.

ADAMS, R. N., et al. *Social Change in Latin America Today*. N.Y.: Harper Bros., for Council on Foreign Relations, 1961, \$5.00. Implications for United States policy of social change. One general article plus case studies of "guided change" in Peru, U. S. assistance to Bolivia, social change in Brazil since 1930, "Social Change in Guatemala and U.S. Policy," and "Mexico since Cárdenas."

ALLEN, G., H. KNOBLOCH, and B. PASAMANICK, "Intellectual Potential and Heredity." *Science*, CXXXIII (Feb. 10, '61), 378-80. When infant quotients are compared with children's IQ's, it appears that most subnormality is manifested only at the later age. This does not resolve the nature-nurture controversy, which might better be approached with the geneticist's concept of reaction norms or "reaction repertoires."

ANGUS, D., "Quantum Physics and the Creative Mind." *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Spring '61), 212-20. "Quantum physics seems to offer a common physical explanation for four key aesthetic hypotheses that formerly were not seen in so close a synthesis. These . . . are that creative thought combines the universal and the particular, is largely subliminal, is usually free, and is unusually complex."

AUSTRUY, J., "Existe-t-il un mode obligé de la croissance économique?" *R. d'Econ. Pol.*, LXXI (Jan.-Feb. '61), 82-104. Is there an archetype of economic growth? Presents the doctrinal schemes, capitalist and Marxist, argues the great diversity of environments involved and the existence of many possible paths to development.

BARLOW, P. G., "L'anti-utopie moderne." *Esprit*, XXIX (March '61), 381-96. Analysis of major themes—absolutism, totalitarianism, pessimism, the death of morality—in the anti-utopian writings of Orwell, Huxley, et al., in comparison with the older utopianism.

BEIER, E. G., A. M. ROSSI, and R. L. GARFIELD, "Similarity plus Dissimilarity of Personality: Basis for Friendship." *Psych. Reports*, VIII (Feb. '61), 3-8. Experi-

mental data gained from MMPI responses support the formulation that "a person selects as a friend that individual who is perceived as possessing characteristics similar to himself and also characteristics toward which he is striving."

BOS, H. C., and L. M. KOVCK, "The Appraisal of Road Construction Projects: A Practical Example." *R. of Econ. and Stat.*, XLIII (Feb. '61), 13-20. A comparison of national product before and after the construction of a road in a hypothetical situation having features characteristic of some underdeveloped areas. Of value for policy-makers.

BREITLING, R., "Verbände im internationalen Vergleich und im europäischen Ausland." *Neue pol. Literatur*, VI (#2, '61), 101-26. A comparison of pressure groups in Europe, based on recent French, British, and German studies.

BROWNSON, H. L., "Research on Handling Scientific Information." *Science*, CXXXII (Dec. 30, '60), 1922-30. Efforts toward solving the problems of mechanized handling of ideas, concepts, techniques, illustrations, other material not expressed in quantitative form.

CAIRE, G., "L'U.R.S.S. et l'aide économique au Tiers Monde." *Tiers-Monde*, I (Oct.-Dec. '60), 511-37. Extent, nature, and distribution of Soviet aid, comparison with American aid, its efficacy, its purposes. Though relatively small in amount Soviet aid has been a marked psychological success, for a variety of reasons.

CHAPANIS, A., "Men, Machines, and Models." *Amer. Psychologist*, XVI (March '61), 113-31. The nature, uses, misuses of models in psychology. Some of their more neglected dangers: they invite overgeneralization, may entice us into logical fallacy, may posit incorrect relations between variables, may assume incorrect constants, may too often go unvalidated, may divert useful energy into non-productive activity. In psychology, "the easiest problems to build models for are essentially unimportant problems."



COHEN, K. J., and E. RHENMAN, "The Role of Management Games in Education and Research." *Management Sci.*, VII (Jan. '61), 131-66. Existing uses and limitations. For training purposes, more attention should be given in games to financial, labor, public relations aspects. They might also be used to discover optimal patterns of business behavior.

COLQUHOUN, W. P., "The Effect of 'Unwanted' Signals on Performance in a Vigilance Task." *Ergonomics*, IV (Jan. '61), 41-51. The greater the number of "wanted" signals, the greater the efficiency of individual performance.

CONRAD, R., "Experimental Psychology in the Field of Telecommunications." *Ergonomics*, III (Oct. '60), 289-95. Four applications of experimental methods and principles to such problems as the relative merit of telephone dialing as opposed to the use of push buttons, the design of long telephone codes for easy remembering.

COOKE, E. F., "Research: An Instrument of Political Power." *Pol. Sci. Q.*, LXXVI (March '61), 69-87. A case study of a taxpayer's association, the Pennsylvania Economy League, which "has come to wield great influence over the making of public policy instead of being only a research agency." Notes that "In an era when science and research have a public acceptance that exceeds public understanding, government by research is gaining constant adherents."

DALE, E. *The Great Organizers*. N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1960. Profiles of managers who solved organizational problems of DuPont, GM, Westinghouse, National Steel, describing the methods they used, comparing management theories, pointing out fallacies.

DANIELLS, L. M. *Business Forecasting for the 1960's: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography*. Cambridge: Harvard U. Baker Library, 1960 (paper). Lists sources of forecasting information—general books and articles, forecasts on specific subjects, texts on principles and methods of business forecasting.

DAVIS, J. A., J. L. SPAETH, and C. HUSON, "A Technique for Analyzing the Effects of Group Composition." *Amer. Soc. R.*, XXVI (April '61), 215-25. A technique for codifying analysis in situations where one wishes to assess the effect of a given attribute, both as a characteristic of individuals and as a characteristic of the aggregates to which the individuals belong, with a classificatory scheme and empirical examples.

DE GRAZIA, A., "The Science and Values of Administration—II." *Admin. Sci. Q.*, V (March '61), 556-82. Applied sciences of administration and their ideologies. The science of administration "should father as many applied sciences of administration as there are important sets of values (including anarchistic or null-values) to be carried into administered situations."

DE GRAZIA, A., and T. GURR. *American Welfare*. N.Y.: New York U. Press, 1961, \$6.50. A survey of the roles of American institutions in providing for social and the general welfare, ranging from the community through business, labor, the educational system, foundations, to governmental welfare activities. The first single compilation of data on "who gets what, from where, and how." With chapters on American welfare overseas and on the future of the welfare society.

DEUTSCH, K. W., and W. G. MADOW, "A Note on the Appearance of Wisdom in Large Bureaucratic Organizations." *Behavioral Sci.*, VI (Jan. '61), 72-78. In a large organization there may be, thanks to statistical probability, a man who makes all the correct decisions though actually no more competent than less successful peers. The point is made mathematically and its implications for political and organizational behavior are noted.

BURKS, R. V. *The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1961, \$5.00. Interviews, analysis of election returns, other materials provide data on the people who comprise the Communist movement in Eastern Europe and their motivations for joining the party. Finds social class of little importance; "Instead, the effects of cross-cultural education, shifting world prices, and what might be called ethnic politics have directed these people to Communism."

BOGUE, D. J., and C. BEALE. *The Economic Areas of the United States*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, about \$25.00. A definitive compilation of data, maps, photos on the social and economic characteristics of Americans. Divides the U.S. into 5 major economic provinces, 13 regions within the provinces, 121 sub-regions, and 532 State economic areas, with data and description on each.

DROR, Y. *Some Aspects of Staff Problems in Israel*. Jerusalem: Hebrew U. Kaplan School of Econ. and Social Sciences, 1960 (paper). The temporary balance between demand and supply for political, economic, professional-technical staff in the "pre-state period" was disrupted by independence. Outlines the various "conscious and planned efforts" to deal with resultant problems, presents hypotheses on staff problems in technologically underdeveloped areas in general.

DUMMETT, M., and R. FARQUHARSON, "Stability in Voting." *Econometrica*, XXIX (Jan. '61), 33-43. Mathematical analysis

of any fixed voting procedure as an  $n$ -person game. "Stability" obtains in such games even with quite weak preferences on the part of voters.

Education for Public Responsibility. N.Y.: Norton, for Fund for Adult Education, 1961, \$4.50. Fourteen essays on such topics as the kinds of education that can best motivate individuals to assume leadership responsibilities and perform them well.

EHRLICH, D., and D. N. WIENER, "The Measurement of Values in Psychotherapeutic Settings." *J. of General Psych.* LXIV (April '61), 359-72. Problems of definition, review of empirical findings, methodological problems. Despite general recognition of the functional role of values in psychotherapy there is little work; methodological innovations are called for.

ERSKINE, H. G., ed., "A Revival: Reports From the Polls." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXV (Spring '61), 128-39. POQ revives an old feature, reporting here in summary fashion all Gallup Poll results on the recent elections, candidates, and campaign issues, and some older material.

CATTEL, R. B. and F. W. WARBURTON, "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Patterns of Extraversion and Anxiety." *Br. J. of Psych.*, LII (Feb. '61), 3-15. American students are more extroverted, have greater anxiety than British students, are also somewhat more conservative, less emotionally sensitive. Striking differences in the "structure of the self" appear. British students have higher ego-strength and self-sentiment. Americans have higher super-ego development.

FARRELL, B. A., "Symposium on Psychoanalysis and Validation: II. On the Character of Psychodynamic Discourse." *Br. J. of Med. Psych.*, XXXIV (Oct. '60), 7-13. How psychodynamic explanation actually functions, "unencumbered by any metaphysics of science." Asks psychoanalysts to inhibit their "immediate impulse to describe psychodynamic discourse in terms of the fashionable hypothetico-deductive theory of science." There are other, logical methods.

GAINSBURGH, M. R., "Better Economic Indicators for Industry." *Conf. Board Business Record*, XVIII (Feb. '61), 22-26.

Monthly economic indicators give too great weight to primary and secondary industries, not enough to service industries; another "statistical blind spot" is lack of knowledge about the course of personal saving. With remedial suggestions.

GENTILE, G. *Genesis and Structure of Society*. Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1960, \$4.50 (trans. from Italian). The last work of an Italian scholar and Fascist minister (of public instruction).

GIMBEL, J., "The Artificial Revolution in Germany." *Pol. Sci. Q.*, LXXVI (March '61), 88-104. A case study of Marburg under the occupation suggests "that American efforts not only failed to attract a new democratic leadership, but that they discouraged and disillusioned what democratic leadership potential there was." Americans could not agree on a consistent series of policies and had conflicting political interests in Germany.

GOLLAN, R. *Radical and Working Class Politics*. Parkville, Victoria: Melbourne U. Press, 1960, \$6.50. Demonstrates the continuity in the aspirations of various Australian groups, 1850-1910, under the influence of changing political and economic facts as well as of emerging new ideas.

GREENBERG, B. S., "Additional Data on Variables Related to Press Freedom." *Journalism Q.*, XXXVIII (Winter '61), 76-78. Literacy, per capita income, daily circulation per 1,000 persons, and number of daily newspapers are highly correlated with press freedom in a 32-country sample; together they account for 81% of variance in press freedom scores.

HAMBURG, D. A., "Recent Trends in Psychiatric Research Training." *Archives of General Psychiatry*, IV (March '61), 215-24. While most psychiatric training centers generally encourage research interests, few view it as a crucial function. With recommendations.

HAMMOND, P. Y. *Organizing for Defense*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1961, \$8.50. "A substantial reinterpretation of the history of the military organization of the United States from 1900 to 1960," with analysis and critique of defense administration and rivalries, and of the shaping of policy substance by organizational forms and methods.

HAMP, E. P., "The Science of Linguistics and Language Teaching." *Teachers College Record*, LXII (April '61), 550-61. The amount of technical knowledge of linguistics diffused among the general and educated public is "pitifully meager," though this knowledge would greatly improve language teaching.

HARE, A. P. *Handbook of Small Group Research*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, \$12.50. "The first attempt to write a rounded treatise on small groups based entirely on empirical studies," summarizing some 1,300 studies in the process.

HAVIGHURST, R. J., "Conditions Productive of Superior Children." *Teachers College Record*, LXII (April '61), 524-31. These are a home and school environment that stimulated them to learn and to enjoy learning, parents and others who set examples of interest and attainment in education, early family training which produced a desire for achievement in the child. How to increase the supply: more attention to groups now culturally and economically deprived, further search for the "divergent" as well as the "gifted" thinker, teaching methods that make learning more attractive.

GLANZER, M., and R. GLASER, "Techniques for the Study of Group Structure and Behavior: II. Empirical Studies of the Effects of Structure in Small Groups." *Psych. Bul.*, LVIII (Jan. '61), 1-27. The original questions in this field are: What effect does the structure of the group have upon the subject's morale and job satisfaction? and What effect does position in the group have upon the subject's morale and job satisfaction? A synopsis of the main findings, using a consistent vocabulary and summary tables. There is no clear answer to the first; regarding the second, "central positions are more satisfied with their tasks than peripheral positions."

- HENDERSON, P. D., "The Use of Economists in British Administration." *Oxford Econ. Papers*, XIII (Feb. '61), 5-25. Their present role is so restricted "that specific questions of economic policy may be dealt with by committees which not only include no economist, but may contain no single member who is really competent to pursue or to assess a connected chain of reasoning of a strictly economic kind." Presents four case studies of "economic policy without economics," and makes suggestions for reform.
- HERRING, P., P. E. MOSELY, and C. J. HITCH. *Research for Public Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1961. \$1.50 (paper). Lectures from the Brookings dedication, and panel discussions: "Research on Government, Politics, and Administration," "Research on Foreign Policy," and "The Uses of Economics." Good as summary statements, scarcely profound.
- HERSHEY, R., "The Psychopathologies of Business Life." *Personnel J.*, XXXIX (Feb. '61), 359-62. Identifying and dealing with the "assumption," the "misunderstanding," the "oversight," and the "clinical error"—all of which may have serious unconscious roots.
- HODGKIN, T., and R. SCHACHTER, "French-Speaking West Africa in Transition." *Intl. Conciliation*, #528 (May '60), 375-436. Summary study of the development of political movements, ideas, institutions: the social setting, the constitutional framework, the rise of parties, new states and groupings.
- HOFFER, C. R., "The Development of Rural Sociology." *Rural Soc.*, XXVI (March '61), 1-14. The history and present state of an applied discipline that came into existence "in response to a need for understanding the conditions and problems of rural life." New directions are social action, socioeconomic aspects of farming, extension work.
- HOSELTZ, B. F., ed. *Theories of Economic Growth*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, \$7.50. H. J. Bruton, J. Buttrick, J. M. Letiche, J. J. Spengler, E. McKinley review the theories that have interpreted and helped to form Europe's economic growth from the 14th century, with an eye toward applying them to the underdeveloped areas of the modern world.
- JACKSON, J. M., "Wages, Social Income, and the Family." *Manchester School of Econ. and Social Studies*, XXIX (Jan. '61), 95-106. Asks how far the present English wage system provides for family needs and how the standard of living of the dependent family has been affected by social policy. Findings suggest that "there is comparatively little redistribution of income brought about through the fiscal system, and that what there is may be as much horizontal redistribution as vertical."
- JONES, A., and H. FREYBURGER. *Advances in Psychosomatic Medicine*. N.Y.: Brunner, 1961, \$8.50. Forty-six articles, on methods and principles of research, the concept of constitution in psychosomatic medicine, and training; other papers deal with interdisciplinary aspects, e.g., "Psychosomatic Medicine and Phenomenological Anthropology," "Significance of 'Valuing' for Psychology and Psychopathology."
- KARIEL, H. S. *The Decline of American Pluralism*. Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1961, \$6.00. The original nature of American pluralism has changed with the spread of large-scale industrialism; "small, unrepresentative oligarchies, which presume to sneak for diffuse private interests, are abetted by government agencies, protected by an unjustifiably restricted research orientation." Reformulates the traditional theory of constitutionalism and state action, calls for a reorientation of both governmental practice and academic research.
- KATZ, D., and S. J. ELDERSVELD, "The Impact of Local Party Activity upon the Electorate." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXV (Spring '61), 1-24. A study in Detroit, combining several types of data: interviews with precinct leaders, election data, interviews with a cross-section of voters, demographic data. Among findings: the strength of Republican leadership was significantly correlated with voting behavior, strength of Democratic leadership was not.
- KELMAN, H. C., "Processes of Opinion Change." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXV (Spring '61), 57-78. A theory of three processes by which people respond to social influence—compliance, identification, and internalization. Analysis should permit the inference of motivations underlying a particular opinion from a knowledge of its manifestations, and prediction of the opinion's future course from a knowledge of the conditions under which it was formed.
- KENDRICK, J. W. *Productivity Trends in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1961, \$12.50. A systematic presentation of estimates of productivity in major industrial sectors of the American economy over an extended period, also analyzing the impact of productivity change on economic aggregates and structure.
- KETY, S. S., "A Biologist Examines the Mind and Behavior." *Science*, CXXXII (Dec. 23, '60), 1861-70. Though the biological disciplines have made great progress toward understanding the brain's structure, metabolism, functional interrelationships, and underlying mechanisms, here summarized, "It is the problem of the sciences of behavior to develop techniques for the study of multi-variant processes without reducing them to simpler ones."

KAPLAN, B., ed. *Studying Personality Cross-Culturally*. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1961, \$8.50. Some 24 original contributions from anthropology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and history provide an historical analysis of the culture and personality field, outline theoretical advances, and present case studies. Among them: "Modal Personality and Adjustment to the Soviet System," "Behavior Units for the Comparative Study of Cultures," "Symbolic Analysis in Cross-Cultural Personality Study." Prepared as a text.

- KLUCKHOHN, F. R., et al. *Variations in Value Orientations*. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1961, \$7.75. A scheme of value orientations and their valuations. Places a new interpretation on concepts of conformity and deviation, discusses implications of systematic variation for role theory and the study of cultural change. With extensive data on values of Indian, Spanish, and American cultures of the American Southwest.
- KUO-CHUN, C., "The Structural Aspects of Planning in China." *Intl. Studies*, II (Jan. '61), 234-51. Types of plan (annual, 5-year, long-range); their preparation; the chain of command; supervisory devices; problems. Data on investment distribution, production targets.
- LEVY, L. H., "Anxiety and Behavior Scientists' Behavior." *Amer. Psychologist*, XVI (Feb. '61), 66-68. The proportion of studies of anxiety demonstrate that behavioral scientists conform to Skinnerian principles of behavior, and also suggest "that research interest and activity is controlled to a greater extent by techniques rather than problems."
- LIPSET, S. M., and L. LOWENTHAL, eds. *Culture and Social Character*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, \$7.50. Many social scientists appraise and criticize David Riesman's work. Including "National Character and the Science of Anthropology" by M. Mead, "Social Character Typology and the Analysis of African Societies" by L. Fellers, "Feelings of Political Efficacy" by M. Trow, "Power Elite or Veto Groups?" by W. Kornhauser, etc.
- MACHLUP, F., "Operational Concepts and Mental Constructs in Model and Theory Formation." *Giornale degli Economisti*, XIX (Sept.-Oct. '60), 553-82. An essay on scientific vocabulary. Examines and distinguishes operational concepts and pure constructs in physics, suggests that "model" in the social sciences is best interpreted as "more than a construct and less than a complete theory." Notes that "the difficulty of verification lies less in the 'excessive' purity of the abstract constructs and models than in the gross impurities in the operational concepts at our disposal."
- McLAUGHLIN, J. T., "The Analyst and the Hippocratic Oath." *J. of Amer. Psychoanalytic Assoc.*, IX (Jan. '61), 106-23. Ways in which "the behavior of the analyst is importantly affected by his identify as physician, by his need to be a healer." Qualities of compassion and self-sacrifice imply "extreme renunciation of instinctual gratification, except in the altered form of service for others."
- LANGER, T. S., "Environmental Stress, Degree of Psychiatric Impairment, and Type of Mental Disturbance." *Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic R.*, XLVII (Winter '60-'61), 3-16. A major interview study of 1,660 Manhattan residents. Only 19% were rated mentally well, 23% were notably impaired or incapacitated. Finds 16 factors closely related to mental health. Two are demographic, age and socio-economic status. Among others are 8 childhood factors including parents' poor mental health, childhood economic deprivation, poor physical health, broken home. Adult factors include work worries, status worries, and inadequate interpersonal affiliation. With tables of average mental health risk scores.
- MACRIDIS, R. C., "Interest Groups in Comparative Analysis." *J. of Pol.*, XXIII (Feb. '61), 25-45. A summary and critique of interest group theory from Truman to Almond, with a new statement: "interest" like any other activity in a system is conditioned by secular forces that have shaped the political culture of the community and . . . the best way to a theory of comparative politics is at this stage a comprehensive comparative look at the main features of a political system: political culture, social configuration, leadership and governmental institutions."
- MAJUMDAR, D. N., and C. R. RAO. *Race Elements in Bengal*. N.Y.: Asia Publishing House, 1961, \$10.00. A quantitative, joint study by an anthropologist and a statistician.
- MELTON, J. S., and R. C. BENSING, "Searching Legal Literature Electronically: Results of a Test Program." *Minn. Law R.*, XLV (Dec. '60), 229-58. Theory, procedures of a system in which a computer supplies answers, in the form of citations, to questions ranging from a request for cases containing certain specific words to requests for cases containing legal concepts.
- MERCILLON, H., "Nouvelles orientations de la théorie de l'oligopole." *R. d'Econ. Pol.*, LXXI (Jan.-Feb. '61), 47-80. Reviews recent theoretical orientations toward oligopoly; compares interpretations in terms of organization and communication with interpretations in terms of market structure and company strategy.
- "The Methodology of Educational Research." *R. of Ed. Research*, XXX (Dec. '60), 405-555. Eight articles reviewing the literature of the past three years; the role of research in education; the philosophy of science; methods; tools; data processing.
- MITCHELL, J. C., "White Collar Workers and Supervisors in a Plural Society." *Civilisations*, X (#3, '60), 293-304. A study of occupational differentiation in a Rhodesian African community. White-collar Africans regard Europeans as a reference group but at the same time lead demands for African social advancement in the Copperbelt. "The community is held together here by a series of counterbalancing cleavages."
- NIXON, R. B., and J. WARD, "Trends in Newspaper Ownership and Inter-Media Competition." *Journalism Q.*, XXXVIII (Winter '61), 3-14. Extensive data on number, circulation, ownership, growth of newspapers; 61 American cities, out of 1,461, have competing daily papers, compared with 552 in 1920.



PETRULLO, L., and B. M. BASS, eds. *Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior*. N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, \$6.50. Articles and essays on the new methods of examining the leadership process, adding to older methods of observation and historical analysis.

PETTIGREW, T. F., ed., "Desegregation Research in the North and South." *J. of Social Issues*, XV (#4, '59), 1-76. Social psychologists and sociologists report recent research on residential desegregation in the South, using poll data, depth interviews, census materials. Among main findings: residential segregation increased in the North between 1940 and 1950, desegregation in the South is accepted as inevitable among "influentials," even among those whose attitudes appear "intransigent."

"The Philosophical and Social Framework of Education." *R. of Ed. Research*, XXVIII (Feb. '61), 1-113. A review of the literature, including articles on "Sociology of Education," "Comparative Education," "Anthropology and Education," "Socialization Processes and Education."

PIPES, R., ed. *The Russian Intelligentsia*. N.Y.: Columbia U. Press, 1961, \$4.50. A hard-cover reprint of the Summer 1960 issue of *Daedalus*—articles on the pre- and post-revolutionary intelligentsia, present structure, relations of ideology to science, the intelligentsia in China and Spain today.

POLSBY, N. W., "Towards an Explanation of McCarthyism." *Pol. Studies*, VIII (Oct. '60), 250-71. Examines various hypotheses on social sources and political pretensions, attempts to identify empirically the "new American right." The analysis "shows McCarthy to have been more dependent on his party, and personally much less effective at the grass roots, than has been commonly supposed." Most of the facts were available when he was alive, yet policy scientists failed to attend to them.

"Research and Development and the Gross National Product." *Reviews of Data on R&D* (#26). Washington, D.C.: NSF, Feb. '61. Relations of technological progress to long-run economic growth. R&D expenditures in 1959 were \$12.4 billion, 2.6% of the GNP.

ROBBINS, P. R., "Immediate and Delayed Effects of Social Influence upon Individual Opinion." *J. of Social Psych.*, LIII (Feb. '61), 159-67. Immediate influence was the same whatever the size of the majority and whether or not the individual thought his position would be revealed to the group. Furthermore, opinions tended to change in the opposite direction in delayed reaction to exposure to high majority and threats.

ROE, A., J. LYMAN, and H. MOON, "The Dynamics of an Automated Teaching System." *Automated Teaching Bulletin*, I (Spring '61), 16-25. A graphic, mathematical analysis suggesting a means of simultaneously improving teaching-learning techniques and experimenting with "the one hundred or more variables involved in automated teaching systems." Notes some major problems, e.g., the breaking down and ordering of "knowledge bits."

SAYRE, W. S., "Scientists and American Science Policy." *Science*, CXXXIII (March 24, '61), 859-64. Asks, who speaks for science and scientists? What are their goals? What are their strategies? There are as yet few clear answers, though already "the leaders of the scientists . . . are perforce politicians."

SELIGMAN, L. G., "Political Recruitment and Party Structure: A Case Study." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LV (March '61), 77-86. Relation between recruitment patterns and the state of interparty competition in Oregon: centralized party recruitment of candidates is least likely in competitive districts and for majority parties in "safe" districts. Candidate entry is generally a group enterprise, however, involving non-party groups.

SILBERMAN, C. E., "The Remaking of American Education." *Fortune*, LXII (April '61), 125-31. Techniques used and degree of progress in the present nation-wide attempts "to focus mass education on intellectual development."

SILVERN, L. C., "The Teaching Machine for Employee Development." *Personnel J.*, XXXIX (March '61), 413-17. Evolution, current research, typical teaching machines and curriculums, applications in employee development.

SNOW, C. P., et al., "The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science." *Science*, CXXXIII (Jan. 27, '61), 255-62. Summary statements of current contentions about scientists' moral values and responsibilities. In W. O. Baker's words, "I ask that scientists be trusted mightily in view of the changes, the revisions, the alterations that they will constantly have to make in their role in large human affairs."

SINGER, J. L., and R. A. SCHONBAR, "Correlations of Daydreaming: A Dimension of Self-Awareness." *J. of Consulting Psych.*, XXV (Feb. '61), 1-6. An experimental study "indicating that daydream frequency, night dream recall frequency, thematic creativity, need achievement, anxiety, and relatively greater identification with mother than with father intercorrelated positively. . . . High and Low Daydreamers differ along a dimension which might be termed self-awareness, or acceptance of inner experience."

STEIN, M. I., ed. *Theories of Psychotherapy*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, \$7.50. Includes J. D. Frank on "Therapy in a Group Setting," articles on the Adlerian approach, Carl Rogers with "A Tentative Scale for the Measurement of Process in Psychotherapy," articles on family therapy, a "Survey of the Development and Evolution of Psychoanalytic Treatment," many others.



SPENCE, D. P., "The Multiple Effects of Subliminal Stimuli." *J. of Personality*, XXIX (March '61), 40-53. Findings suggest "that both close and distant effects may be expected from subliminal stimuli, with degree of effect a function of the response alternatives, response measures, and individual schema organization."

THEODORSON, G. A., ed. *Studies in Human Ecology*. Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1961, \$8.50. The first collection of representative studies in 50 years, comprising various disciplines. Major topics: classical human ecology, current theory and research, cross-cultural studies, human ecology as human geography, regional studies.

SURANYI-UNGER, T., JR. *Current Projects on Economic and Social Implications of Scientific Research and Development 1960*. Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1960. (paper). A survey of work in progress, almost none of it published. Useful in projecting the intellectual output of a dozen sub-fields—among them administration, sociology, political science, international relations, management, public policy and national defense studies—several years hence.

SZASZ, T. S., "The Uses of Naming and the Origin of the Myth of Mental Illness." *Amer. Psychologist*, XVI (Feb. '61), 59-65. Not only is logical analysis of concepts used in science necessary, "in the social sciences further analyses in terms of sociohistorical and ethical considerations may prove useful or even indispensable."

TALAMONA, M., "Modelli di sviluppo ed esperienza storica sovietica: qualche riflessione." *L'industria*, #4, '60, 472-95. Reflections of what Soviet history has to say about models of economic development based on planning. A mathematical analysis.

TALLMADGE, W. H., "The Composer's Machine." *J. of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XIX (Spring '61), 339-45. An aesthetic theory, suggesting that "By directing the attention of teacher and performer to the structure of the music as the authoritative basis of performance, insight and analytical ability will grow and develop."

VAN GINKEL, B. L., "The Form of the Core." *J. of Amer. Inst. of Planners*, XXVII (Feb. '61), 56-69. Downtown areas should reflect the full range of urban activities; any program for their image and function "should reinstate the human scale and give man a creative environment; it should compact and define the core for recognition and impact; it should include a multiplicity of uses."

VERBA, S. *Small Groups and Political Behavior*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1961, \$6.00. Applications and limitations of experimental group theories and methods in the study of basic political relationships.

WALLACH, M. A., and N. KOGAN, "Aspects of Judgment and Decision Making: Interrelationships and Changes with Age." *Behavioral Sci.*, VI (Jan. '61), 23-36. Fear of failure and hope of success, as well as the degree of our confidence in what may happen, all determine our decisions. "Attempts to conceptualize various judgmental and cognitive process in decision and risk terms must be considered premature."

WEINER, H., "Behavioral Science Courses." *Archives of General Psychiatry*, IV (March '61), 307-15. The functions and relevance of the behavioral science courses being added to medical school curriculums. Some functions are general, others are specifically clinical.

WINICK, C., "How People Perceived 'The Mad Bomber.'" *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXV (Spring '61), 25-38. The situation "seems to have elicited the expression of a considerable amount of free-floating anxiety in part of the population." Respondents' comments "suggest the ease with which paranoid reactions and prejudice can assert themselves in this kind of perceived threat situation."

WINTHROP, H., "Some Neglected Considerations Concerning the Problem of Value in Psychology." *J. of General Psych.*, LXIV (Jan. '61), 37-59. Values "represent both choices in personal development made by a self as well as decisions concerning prospective behavior. . . , which will leave open a pluralistic development in freedom for other selves. There is a tendency to overlook this when the behavioral scientist seeks to deal with intentionality and affectivity in sheerly physicalistic terms."

WRONG, D. H., "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology." *Amer. Soc. R.*, XXVI (April '61), 182-93. Sociological theory originates in the asking of general questions about man and society. The answers lose meaning if they are elaborated without reference to the questions as has happened in much contemporary theory, for example, in answers to the Hobbesian question of how men become tractable to social controls. Sociologists need a more complex, dialectical conception of human nature.

WHITEHALL, A. M., JR., and S. I. TAKEZAWA. *Cultural Values in Management-Worker Relations, Japan: Gimu in Transition*. Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina School of Business Admin., Research Paper 5, March 1961, \$2.00. A study of "the pervasive impact of cultural values" among 283 Japanese industrial workers, using a Cultural Continuum Checklist presenting 40 questions whose answers were scaled along an extreme Eastern to extreme Western scale. In general, component values within good-management and good-worker roles vary markedly from one culture to another.

## Propaganda for America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports

by KAREN DOVRING

*Little-used techniques of content analysis lend force and validity to this review of six widely publicized leader-scholar reports, by the author of ROAD OF PROPAGANDA. Mrs. Dovring, a Swede displaced to Urbana, Illinois, analyzes the reports in the general categories of symbols of identification, problems, and demands. She contends that the reports tend to be banal by seeking to speak to a large audience, and ineffective by speaking from the shelter of expertism.*

The March publication of the six Rockefeller panel reports in a single volume (see box) concentrates a series of challenges on the problems and opportunities confronting American democracy—in foreign policy, in military preparedness, in education, and in social and economic affairs. But they imply to us another, different kind of challenge: it is not enough to possess the truth; the truth must also be communicated in a way that elicits the desired effects.

### COMMUNICATION OF FACTS AND COMMUNITY VALUES

Any reporter will agree that this communication is a tough assignment. His public refers in general to the "truth" as a matter of "the facts." The trouble is, however, that facts never speak for themselves, not even in the telephone book. Unless you are an informed specialist on "the facts," the data tell you very little. You must therefore always know how to classify them in the light of their value in your own or someone else's community if they are to make sense to you. If you read in the daily newspaper about missile launchings, the information you get will certainly arouse attitudes on war and peace, disarmament and Russia. But how much have you understood of the missile's technical data? The newspaper account does not make you a specialist on missiles.

The reporter is a communicator to a public that is large and that comprises different levels of interests, knowledge, and intelligence. It is a mass public. His first concern is to catch its attention. He appeals therefore to what is common to all of them, missile experts or not. What they have in

common is their community values. He must present the technical data within a frame of references to these values, and the larger his public, the less stress on technical facts and the more repeated the references to community values. The result is an attitude on the part of the mass public to the missile, or on the part of the best-educated fraction of his public, an interest tinted with ideology. This is a matter of influence, not of technical comprehension. Who learns what, then?

The frequent appeals to community values are fertile soil for propaganda in mass communication, since the appeals give to the technical facts an image that stems from the community ideology and the reporter's use of it. This fundamental process has always been and still is the only way to talk to a mass public, no matter what communication media are used. It has been abused by "agi-

PROSPECT FOR AMERICA: THE ROCKEFELLER REPORTS. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961, \$3.95.

- I. Mid-Century Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy
- II. International Security: The Military Aspect
- III. Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century
- IV. The Challenge to America: It's Economic and Social Aspects
- V. Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America
- VI. The Power of the Democratic Idea

tators" everywhere. It is a perennial problem for any communicator who wants to give "the facts and nothing but the facts" to his mass public. Worn out by abuse of their communication process, the educated public has taken a dim view of "propaganda," it reacts with indifference to any intellectual attempt to clarify the process, and in turn pays for its lack of sophistication by being victimized by the daily mass communication media.

The victims are found not only among the mass and the "educated" public. Most experts who advise a politician and submit the details of their painstaking research to his political build-up subsequently discover that very little of their facts remain in his public speeches and slogans. Modest advisers believe that "the skeleton of their proposed policies will remain intact, despite the change in approach and phraseology." However, skeletons of proposed policies seldom catch the public's mind. The public reacts to a live image. This image is brought to life by the politician's phraseology and his use of scholarly data. The politician never has time to tell his publics all the facts—all the truth. He tells them his purpose with some facts, selected in light of the community values to which they are trained to react. Since the politician is responsible to his publics for what he says, his practical policy becomes a walk on a tight-rope.

#### THE PURPOSES OF THE REPORTS

Preface, introductions, and *reclame* for *Prospect for America* point out that the book and its message seek every thoughtful citizen's attention. This means a mass public. The whole work is recommended as "vitally important reading for every American." It is said to reflect—in principle—the thinking and several years' efforts of more than one hundred distinguished American citizens. As the overall panel puts it: "We are concerned that there has not been enough general understanding of the issues confronting us, not enough sense of urgency throughout our nation about the mortal struggle in which we are engaged. Without this awareness, the challenges to our values and to our society

cannot be—and have not yet been—fully met."

In other words, the panel wants to call the mass public's attention to the issues in education and the other subjects the reports study. But the understanding looked for is *not* the specialist's understanding of the factual details of the issues but a general, national comprehension of the "sense of urgency . . . about the mortal struggle. . . ." This urgent awareness of peril is a plea for a public attitude to the challenges faced by the community values. Consequently, the project claims to have a three-fold objective. The first is "to define the major problems and opportunities that will challenge the United States over the next ten to fifteen years" (here we may hope for some facts and data). The second is "to clarify the national purposes and objectives that must inspire and direct the meeting of such great challenges" (here we encounter the community values and their goals, which are usually used by a communicator to get public response to the facts), and the third is "to develop a framework of concepts and principles on which national policies and decisions can be soundly based" (here the community values are further integrated with a system of concepts that can frame the inquiry and be useful for the future; this is what is meant by an ideology or doctrine).

Two of the Rockefeller project's three aims are thus concerned with the fate of the community values, while one defines the problems that threaten them. This is a classic illustration of the features of all mass communication. What makes the task remarkable is the fact that it was worked out by so many people. In general, mass communication is the work of a single communicator, such as a politician, who must be a conscious specialist in public contacts. Sometimes, such a message is released by a hierarchy as a body, in the manner of the Vatican or the rulers in the Kremlin. It is unusual that such a large body of citizens from all walks of life voluntarily makes such an elaborate and time-consuming effort to communicate with the rest of their society. The preface refers quite correctly to "democracy at work." But a question that stirs the reader's

mind more the deeper he penetrates the book is this: have the participants been aware of how little opportunity the rules of mass communication give to the proper presentation of the many experts' knowledge? The ultimate significance of the book will be clear only by comparison with similar documents from other countries and based on other ideologies. There is no place for such a survey here.

### THE SYMBOLS USED

What have the participants agreed upon as their message? What have they said in their 142,200 words, not counting prefaces and introductions? Let us follow their own program and see how much attention they pay to the major problems that face the nation, what values they identify themselves and their community with, and what demands they make when they outline their program for action.

An analysis of the reports reveals references to 18,673 symbols, which stand for three kinds of concepts. The largest proportion, 7,569 symbols, are presented as values accepted by the American community and therefore to be identified with. Symbols expressing problems that menace the continued existence of the community values total 6,255. Finally, concepts referring to demands that might solve these problems and therefore involve a program account for 4,849 symbols.

In explanation of the methodology, it can be noted that a symbol is not necessarily identical with a single word. "Democracy" is a symbol but in the American communication realm "freedom of speech" is a synonym for the democratic concept. So when "democracy" appears literally in the text and "freedom of speech" appears as a variation of it, the two symbols are counted in the same category. The bias of the category may then be determined by noting which symbols appear most frequently in the category. In this way we can determine the dominant aspect of the concept of democracy in a given universe. Of course, many variations are possible and may express other aspects of democracy, such as "pluralistic society." The statistical relations among such aspects within a given category denote the relative stress

placed by the communication realm on the initial value's varying aspects. More simply, if the concept "democracy" is expressed by the word "democracy" ten times in a text and 25 times by the words "freedom of speech," the primary meaning of democracy in that communication realm is free speech. When the same kind of analysis is applied in another communication realm, such as Eva Peron's writings, a literal mention of "democracy" on ten occasions is accompanied by at least 25 references to "Peronista." This of course gives quite another bias to the concept. This kind of analysis has been applied to the whole text of *Prospect for America*, and underlies all references here to symbols.

The statistical relations between the numbers of symbols in *Prospect for America's* identification of community values, of concepts for problems, and of demands, describe a society that still masters, on the surface, the coming challenge. But the problems are many and the number of demands made indicate that much has to be remedied. Problems and demands together account for over 59 per cent of the total symbols. This creates an atmosphere of approaching peril, that feeling of urgency to which the panels wished to wake their attentive public. The distribution of symbols in the book—40.5 per cent identification symbols, 33.5 per cent referring to problems, 26.0 per cent for demands—also gives a communicative structure to its message that is closely related to progressive mass communicators in European democracies and is typical in a democratic society, as every propaganda analyst knows. It is in sharp contrast to the communicative pattern of totalitarian authorities, whether of the right or the left.

### THE INDIVIDUAL REPORTS

If we regard in the same manner each of the six separate reports in the book, we find a similar message: trouble is approaching unless demands for reform are taken seriously. A survey of the distribution of symbols used to reach the mass public's attention gives the relations shown in the table below. The attention that five of the reports give to demands and problems in the community is

| REPORT  | SYMBOLS (PER CENT) |          |         |
|---|--------------------|----------|---------|
|   | IDENTIFICATION     | PROBLEMS | DEMANDS |
| <i>Mid-Century Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy</i>               | 34.8               | 40.4     | 24.8    |
| <i>International Security: The Military Aspect</i>                | 32.3               | 44.0     | 23.7    |
| <i>Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century</i>          | 34.2               | 32.4     | 33.4    |
| <i>The Challenge to America: Its Economic and Social Aspects</i>  | 36.6               | 28.4     | 35.0    |
| <i>Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America</i> | 46.0               | 30.4     | 23.6    |
| <i>The Power of the Democratic Idea</i>                           | 54.1               | 27.3     | 18.6    |

as much as twice as intensive as the attention given the accepted community values. Only the sixth report, dealing with the power of the democratic idea, pays more attention to symbols of identification—over 54 per cent—than to expressions of demands and difficulties. This approach is natural in a document that wants to sell its community values. No good salesman overemphasizes the problems of his product.

To a totalitarian mind our table on the distribution of concepts might seem to represent a spiritually weak community, in which more attention is paid to problems and demands than to community values. Hitler spoke often with contempt of the weak democratic order, which faded away in public debate. This democratic debate is seen clearly in the large amount of attention paid to the community's troubles and the demands for their remedy.

Even though the analysis portrays the major proportions of the democratic debate, it leaves open the question of what real interests are exposed in *Prospect for America*. What *kinds* of concepts and how many of them are used to lead public attention to its community values, problems, and demands, and to create an interest or at least an attitude on the issues? Something that is often repeated comes to dominate the public mind. So let us see what themes permeate the individual reports. The study on "International Security: The Military Aspect" is short and clear enough to illustrate the analysis used on all six pamphlets. Its 19,700 words present 2,617 symbols:

Symbols of identification total 844 and are built up from:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Our security, our national safety                       | 380 |
| American society  | 115 |
| Safety of the whole world                               | 74  |
| Special case of NATO                                    | 63  |
| United States   | 58  |
| United Nations, greatest symbol of man's hope for peace | 46  |
| Our allies  | 38  |
| This study, this panel                                  | 32  |
| Freedom, desire for peace                               | 21  |
| Budget for national economy                             | 17  |

These community values are endangered by troubles, expressed 1,152 times:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| The Soviet Union has caught up with the U.S. and will continue to gain in overall military strength | 215 |
| New weapons' technology   | 156 |
| Soviet invasion, dictatorship   | 138 |
| Interservice rivalry in the U.S.  | 80  |
| Our strategic problems  | 74  |
| Our major shortcomings  | 68  |
| Complacency, hysteria, the issue of testing nuclear weapons   | 67  |
| All-out war, limited war  | 60  |
| Weaknesses of NATO  | 59  |
| Civil defense overdue   | 44  |
| Insufficient weight to psychological reactions  | 43  |
| Reality of our peril, attack at any moment  | 38  |
| Pressure on the alliance system   | 35  |
| Insufficient funds, budget squeeze  | 34  |
| Emergence of the U.S. at the forefront of world affairs, upheavals                                  | 32  |



|   |     |
|---|-----|
| United Nations paralyzed  | 9   |
| What should be done? The 621 demand statements offer a program:                   |     |
| Far more efficient system for military planning                                   | 185 |
| Vigilance based on strength, maintain the peace                                   | 141 |
| Increased defense expenditures  | 60  |
| Assistance to our allies  | 56  |
| Psychological and political readiness   | 52  |
| Meaningful reduction of armament, great caution in ending nuclear weapons testing | 47  |
| Improve our technological position  | 41  |
| Discourage an all-out attack, react effectively to limited aggression             | 36  |
| A change in Soviet attitudes  | 3   |

The relative subjective and objective importance assigned to the various themes can be surmised from the statistical relations among the symbols. The few technical facts that support the themes are lost in the deluge of ideological symbols that call for public attitudes on the issues. The pamphlet is primarily an act of propaganda.

The same is true of the other reports. The 1,190 identification symbols in the "Mid-Century Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy" are dominated by 534 concepts of a "world-wide economic system, American democracy, the growth of freedom across the globe." This picture is darkened by 1,386 problems, most of them (523 symbols) arising from the Communist orbit, its propaganda, cold war, and threats. The 848 demands emerging from this situation call for "security, peace, freedom, national survival," and say that "the U.S. cannot afford to be detached" (425 symbols).

The third report, "Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century," devotes no less than 447 of its 894 community symbols to the growing interdependence of nations and the considerable growth of the free world's economy. This dream of international well-being is threatened by 847 concepts. The largest group of these, 147 symbols, stress the danger that comes from the schism between Communism and the free world, and from Soviet economic domination and polit-

ical penetration. Consequently, the largest number of demands, 467 out of 872, ask for an expanding United States economy as vital to world economic growth, and for free associations of nations for social and economic purposes.

The 1,084 identification symbols in the report, "The Challenge to America: Its Economic and Social Aspects," are dominated by 335 value-units depicting the "dynamism of the American economy, the economic heritage, and human welfare." It broods over 841 troubles, the largest group (340) referring to unemployment, the tax structure, and discrimination in the employment of minority groups. The remedy is seen to lie in a program of 1,034 demands that stress counter-recession measures in general and expansion of production (765 symbols).

The report on the "Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America" is more articulate than the other reports as measured by the variety of its concepts, but is not therefore more factual. Its 1,491 identification symbols emphasize by 576 concepts that "good education" is a matter of informed citizens, the identification of talents and the individual's fulfillment, qualified teachers at all levels, and beneficial influences in family and church. Some 986 obstacles to "good" education are described. Of these, 518 tell of lack of teachers, financial difficulties, and the habit of sending more and more youngsters to weaker and weaker institutions. The 765 demands include 136 requests for qualified and gifted teachers and new patterns in teaching, 29 for federal support of education, and 31 symbols stressing that State, local, and private sources of funds should still continue to be the major factors in support.

The community we met in these reports is a result of the "Power of the Democratic Idea." This last report identifies in 2,066 symbols what democracy is. Most of them, 1,253, picture democracy as American democracy—government by consent, public discussion, free elections, pressure groups, the individual's rights, competition, and compromise. This society runs the risk of being ritualistic; its democratic dialogue

may be robbed of its seriousness; there are also dangers of totalitarian challenges: fear of these three events permeates 634 of the 1,043 concepts touching upon problems. The demands consequently emphasize loyalty to the inner spirit as well as to the external forms of democracy (in 447 out of 709 symbols).

When factual material is condensed—as it is in these reports—to the extent that mass communication will always require in order

to get public response, then “the essence of the essence of the essence” often turns out to be no more than an appeal to certain community values. Therefore, “How should America speak to the world?” should better have been the first and last concern of the reports. How badly such a study is needed is seen in the present confusion, which finds so many specialists talking to the mass public and at the same time believing that they remain experts.

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## The Scientoid Manifesto

The historian of ideas, a century hence, may note that, beginning in the nineteen forties, a new species of document made its appearance upon the American scene. It might be called the “scientoid manifesto.” Regarding the word “manifesto” there need be little difficulty. Merriam-Webster defines it as “(a) a public declaration, usually of a prince, sovereign, or other person claiming large powers, showing his intentions or motives. (b) a statement of policy or opinion, issued by an organization, party, or school.” By “scientoid” we mean, wearing the robes of scientific language and logico-empiricism, rationalistic. It will carry statistics, trend data, and a hundred “oughts” recorded as “is.”

Hardly a month goes by without a new scientoid manifesto appearing. Its quality may be poor or excellent. Its impact is usually ephemeral. Its readership is generally small. It usually presents itself as Distinguished People speaking to the Great People, but it is more accurately described as “Distinguished People speaking to themselves (and acquaintances.)” If it were truly D.P.’s speaking to the G.P., it would be much different, as Karen Doving has said above. It cannot of course be the G.P., because the G.P. does not speak. If it were D.P.’s speaking to experts and scientists, it would also be changed, because the latter know in advance what is going to be said and are interested in a much more profound

treatment than is given the issues discussed. And it is not experts and scientists speaking—for they do not talk that way when alone or among their kind; we must assume that they are simply being obliging and prudent in lending their participation.

The considerable increase in the number of scientoid manifestos may possibly be explained by a combination of causes. First, the civic-mindedness of American business leaders has increased; hundreds now feel socially responsible where tens did before World War II. Secondly, the rise of foundations has provided us with thousands of foundation trustees, funds to give them a voice, and foundation executives eager to help them give advice. Thirdly, the social sciences, particularly economics and international relations, have risen in repute and the expert is looked up to. These, plus several additional factors which we lack space to recite, produce a common phenomenon, seen in the panel reports reviewed above, in the President’s Commission on National Goals (see *ABS*, IV no. 6, pp. 23-24), in many reports of the Carnegie Corporation, in those of the Fund for the Republic, and in hundreds of manifestoes on city, State, national, and international affairs that have appeared in recent years, with non-official, semi-official, and official sponsorship.

The manifesto usually originates in a governmental, an associational, or a foundation office. The general “pitch” is settled upon

there, and the financing assured. Nominations of people of wealth, influence, and intellectual stature with some degree of fame are made. They are approached and recruited. At this point a staff of not-too-independent scholars and publicists is retained. The enterprise is announced with a fanfare. A gestation period occurs, during which the staff puts together the report and recommendations. The commission, committee, forum, or whatever it is called meets several times with some members absent. Amendments are offered. The members declare, "Why don't you say something about . . ." and "Isn't the language a bit strong here." The document is approved. Objections that cannot be reconciled to the majority view or that come in late are placed in footnotes or in an appendix, and the document is published. Depending upon the importance of the people involved and upon financing, thousands or millions of copies may be vented in several forms. Publicity releases are issued, which the *New York Times* and a few other media will dutifully carry. "Independent" leaders will praise the work. (They are likely to be on a similar committee soon.) Anywhere from 95 to 99.99 per cent of the population will not recall having ever heard of it.

What, then, are the merits of the scientoid manifestoes?

(1) They build the reputation of men among others of their kind.

(2) They let men feel that they are discharging their civic responsibilities.

(3) They help carry on a conversation among busy men.

(4) They give cues to incoherent members of the same status on what they should believe and say.

They have, however, several demerits:

(1) They take the time of scholars who have important work to do.

(2) They make leaders feel that they are acting, when they are only talking.

(3) They make some of the public believe that their leaders are thinking and active, when in fact they are not.

(4) They cost a great deal. The Special Studies Project (*Prospect for America*) of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has cost over \$800,000 already. The National Goals Commission was granted hundreds of thousands of dollars by several foundations. The Fund for the Republic (now operating through the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions) is down to the last couple of millions of the 15 million dollars granted it. It is not incredible that such funds might be invested in better forms of study, research, and planning.

(5) Individual voices, the best-equipped, the original scientists who were broadcasting on the same frequency, are drowned out by the chatter of the famous.

(6) Scholars are given paths bull-dozed by publicity and authority, which they are naturally pressed to follow when choosing subjects for their studies and setting bounds to their ideas.

Several recommendations can be made:

(1) Limit costs on this sort of project. Neither persons nor groups need more than a few thousand dollars to recollect and put down their thoughts.

(2) Let individual civic leaders with something to say, say it themselves.

(3) Sponsor truly operational planning—i.e., go into the next phase of civic-minded effort. Let ideas be geared to action plans. A policy science is what is intended by means of many of the scientoid manifestoes. They are, however, quite innocent of systematic policy science.

No one wants to go back to the stone age of the intellectually uncouth businessman or the parochial college. But we have had enough of "reports" and "studies" that are little more than glorified press releases. If busy, important people—whether in education, business, foundations, or government—wish to steer the ship of state, they will have to do more than telephone instructions from the ship's saloon. They will have to find ways of involving themselves more directly and systematically in the powering and guiding devices.

## ET AL.: H. De Wolf Smyth on the Nature of Research

*Group Research in the Physical Sciences.* For many years in astronomy the cost and complexity of big telescopes has forced groups of astronomers to use the same equipment. Yet they still worked as individuals on their individual problems. The development of the large equipment now needed for high-energy physics has had a similar effect in physics since the invention of the cyclotron in 1930. This is often called group research, but more properly should be called cooperative research. It is as if the various shock wave experiments I have described were all done on the same apparatus.

Most frequently group effort is required in the third stage of research (the application of techniques) since they may be so varied and complicated that no single scientist can carry them out. Such an effort is required where a big accelerator is used. But a single individual may still choose the problem, choose the techniques and interpret the results.

Sometimes situations occur where the knowledge of several scholars is required at all four stages of research, the delineation of the problem, the choice of methods of attack, the application of these methods, and the interpretation of the results. This can fairly be called group research.

*The needs of the individual scholar.* I do not think such "group research" indicates a basic change in scientific method. Science has always been cooperative. No scholar works alone oblivious of his predecessors and contemporaries. The fabric of science is built from the contributions of many men in many lands and over centuries of time. By criticism and new knowledge the whole structure is continually altered and enlarged. In one sense scientific research has always been a group effort, even though the members of the group worked at different places, perhaps at different times. As the pace has quickened, as the problems and methods of attack have grown more complex, we now sometimes find it necessary to establish groups who work in the same place at the same time using the same equipment. This change may increase the need of day-to-day cooperation; it emphatically does not reduce the need for individual initiative, for imagination and for creative brilliance.

From H. De Wolf Smyth

"The Nature of Research: The Intricate and Fascinating Pattern of Nature"  
*University, II* (Fall 1960), p. 8

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ON THE COVER: The Middle Ages also had automated teaching. The quintain in its various forms was a device for the training—and amusement—of knights. In its most elaborate form, as shown on the cover, it was a figure of a swordsman mounted on a pivot, with a flail, sword, or wooden bat in one hand. The horseman tilting at the quintain with his lance had to strike it squarely in the center; if not, the quintain would pivot and give him a sharp negative reinforcement on the back as he rode by. This engraving appears in Paul Lacroix's *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874, p. 145), and is a facsimile of a miniature in the fifteenth century work, *Chroniques de Charlemagne*.

## Symbols and Values: War and Peace

Thiel de Sola Pool of MIT has just published a budget of researches on *Communications and Values in Relation to War and Peace* (paper; \$1.00). It is one of five memoranda programming different areas of research that were underwritten by the Institute for International Order (11 W. 42nd St., NYC). Pool's study asserts that we have a technology of opinion research that enables us to establish facts about war-expectations, inter-popular images, nuclear weapons fears, beliefs in international organizations, and other subjects that help determine the conditions of war and peace. However, we not only fail to pursue those facts systematically but we also do not bring them properly to bear on public policy.

Consequently, the author presents a set of orienting ideas in this large and new area of concern, and develops a set of studies that might be used to position the applied science of peace insofar as peace depends upon men's minds and public communications. The budget of 44 projects is organized under nine general headings: The Role of Attitudinal Factors in International Politics; Determination of the Facts of Public Opinion; The Study of the Opinion of Elite Groups, including studies of scientists and their ethos in relation to international order, of the military, of the intelligentsia in underdeveloped countries, of the bureaucracy in totalitarian states, and of the international communicators; The Psychology of Attitude and Opinion Formation; Problems of Public Education; Problems of Governmental Communication Abroad; Intercultural Interactions; and National and International Identification. There is an accompanying bibliography for each section.

The wide scope of the proposed studies is suggested by these outlines of two of them. Project no. 1 proposes "Case studies of the role of public opinion in the outbreak of modern wars." Noting that a Stanford University project is examining in detail the sequence of events during the outbreak of World War I, the proposal states that "This is the first of a series of studies on the out-

breaks of crises leading or almost leading to violence. Such studies can usefully be extended. Day-by-day analysis of the press, available memoirs, notes and documents of the political leaders can be used to identify their perceptions of the events, the factors they took into account, the calculations they made. How far and in what ways did the views of significant elements of the public effect their actions? What steps were taken to manipulate public opinion? What mechanisms were available for so doing? What changes in the structure of public communication might have corrected misapprehensions and miscalculations? In short, what part did communication and public opinion play? Under Stanford's leadership such research could become an inter-university case program."

Project no. 42 suggests "A study of attitudes toward super-nationality in underdeveloped countries." This would be essentially "a study of intellectual history and of elite political attitudes. What are the past and present images of the United Nations and of super-national groupings such as NATO and SEATO? What favorable images do these elicit in underdeveloped countries? How can more support for such concepts be generated in them? How much consciousness is there in the new nations of the limits of nationalism?"

"More generally the research problem is how to generate and make acceptable super-national identification. To shed light on that problem we want to know what kinds of persons are capable of holding such identifications and how can they be made compatible with older nationalist identifications."

Reports and proposals of this nature have a humane and inspiring character. They carry one above and beyond the blind empirical and atomistic rushes into the woods that characterize much of the new social science. Yet at the same time, they draw upon what is necessary and true in the logico-experimental and empirical approaches.



## Social Research Development in Italy

Volume I, Number 1 of *Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali*, published by *Il Mulino*, of Bologna, has just appeared and paints a panorama of Italian research activities. From it one may gather that American behavioral science is the determining condition of Italian method, and to a considerable extent, of Italian subject-matter. Technical competence is rarely a problem in Italy, or in Western Europe as a whole, once scholars have put their hearts into a problem. So after fifteen years of concern, a broad array of social research studies of excellent quality is emerging. Whether Italian scholars can develop a unique or superior contribution in the behavioral sciences, as they have, say, in some areas of engineering design, is a question not to be answered immediately. Like other nationals, Italians are fond of discussing their peculiar socio-scientific problems, and, like others, rarely get around to more than cursory examinations of their national style, propensities, and capabilities in the sciences. Perhaps each country, including the United States, should be visited by a team of experts on the ideology, productivity, and organization of science, so as to have outside reports on the advancement of its social science.

The first issue of the *Bollettino* reports on the researches of Ada Fonzi on stereotypes of the Italian southerner, of the experiments of Luigi Meschieri on regional stereotypes in Italy, of Marco Battacchi's studies of images of social reality and of prejudices of Italian northerners and southerners. It describes briefly Leone Dena's research on immigrants in Milano; electoral studies at the Centro Studi Sociali e Amministrativi in Bologna; Giovanni Sartori's biographical and interview studies of 1,340 deputies (under a Rockefeller Foundation grant); studies of group pressures on individuals by P. G. Grasso; of group theory by Raffaello Misiti; of social science research facilities by Carlo Trevisan; of political representation relations in the Sicilian assembly by Franco Leonardi; of the new labor force in Sicily, also by Leonardi;

and of socio-economic change in Syracuse by Gabriele Morello of Palermo.

Other articles describe the sociological research going on at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Turin, the Center for Economic and Social Research at the University of Pavia, and the Sociological Section of SVIMEZ (Association for the Development of Industry in the South) at Rome. (There are now probably several dozen social research centers in Italy.) The Turin Institute includes Groups for Research in Religious Sociology, in Sociology of Political Phenomena, and in Sociology of Economic-Industrial Phenomena. The Pavia Center is related to the excellent Institute of Statistics of the University. Its notable studies have to do with the socio-economic character of Latina, class structure and social change in Milan, and the preparation for degrees in economics, business and engineering. It is developing studies of consumer habits, communications and public opinion, media effects, and internal migrations. SVIMEZ is the outstanding center of research into economic and social development, and has expanded into studies outside of Italy as well as within.

A report on the social sciences in schools of social services by the National Organization of Social Services Schools portrays their evolution and curricular problems. Paolo Neri describes the status of social psychology in Italian universities. Conferences are reported on the subjects of the development of Italian sociology; authority in rural communities; transformation of the rural world; the teaching of sociology; the sociology of political parties and labor unions; the working woman; technological progress in Italy; the workers on the metropolitan peripheries; economic development; and migration of peoples. The Constitution of the Italian Association of Social Sciences is reproduced. Finally, a bibliography of some 250 items of Italian social psychology, 1948-1960, is presented.